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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

Contents for March, 1953

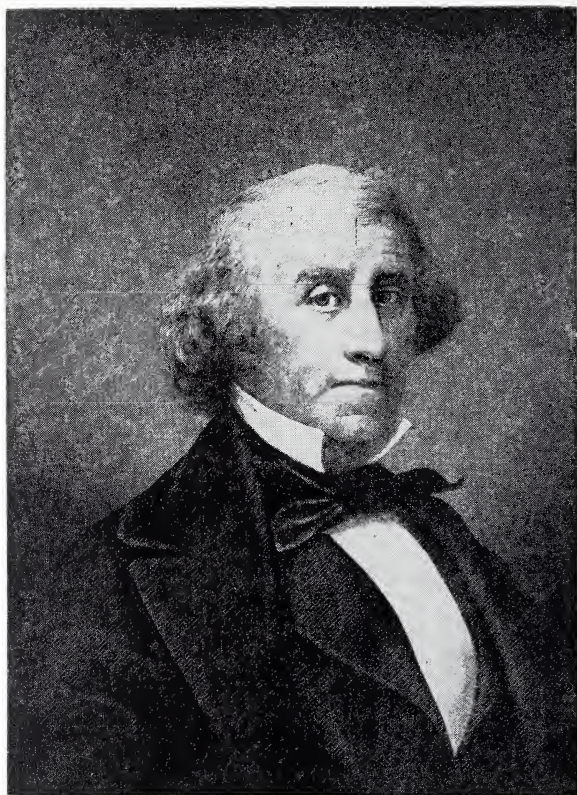
DROUGHT, LAWLESSNESS AND SMALLPOX - -	3
<i>By Robert Glass Cleland</i>	
THE GABILAN PEAK CAMPAIGN OF 1846 -	11
<i>By Richard H. Dillon</i>	
EL ALISAL: THE HOUSE THAT LUMMIS BUILT	19
<i>By Dudley Gordon</i>	
MADAME MODJESKA IN CALIFORNIA - - -	29
<i>By Maymie R. Krythe</i>	
CONFEDERATES IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA -	41
<i>By Helen B. Walters</i>	
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (PART V) -	55
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS - - - - -	89
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY - - - - -	92
CURRENT HAPPENINGS - - - - -	94
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY - - - - -	95

Volume XXXV

Number 1



FOUNDED 1883



ABEL STEARNS

*From a photograph in the Pierce Collection
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CONTENTS:

DROUGHT, LAWLESSNESS AND SMALLPOX	-	-	-	-	3
<i>By Robert Glass Cleland</i>					
THE GABILAN PEAK CAMPAIGN OF 1846	-	-	-	-	11
<i>By Richard H. Dillon</i>					
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CONFEDERATES IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	-	-	-	-	41
<i>By Helen B. Walters</i>					
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (PART V)	-	-	-	-	55
<i>By Margeret Romer</i>					
BOOK REVIEWS	-	-	-	-	89
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY	-	-	-	-	92
CURRENT HAPPENINGS	-	-	-	-	94
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	-	-	-	-	95

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The Historical Society of Southern California

FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1883

1953

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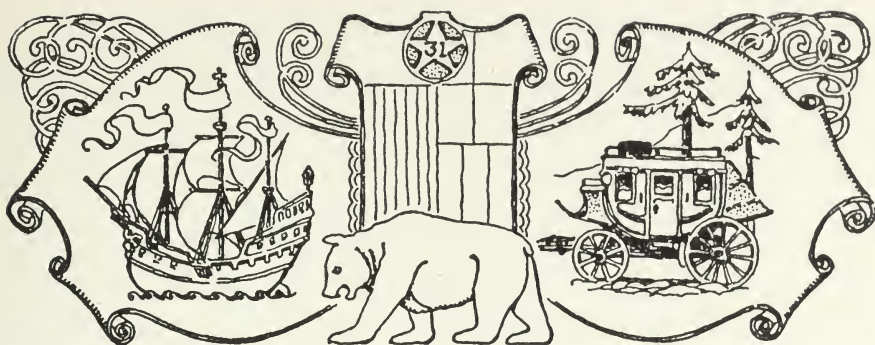
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for March, 1953

Drought, Lawlessness and Smallpox

Letters from Cave Coutts to Abel Stearns, 1852-1863

By Robert Glass Cleland

*T*he Abel Stearns collection of manuscripts in the Huntington Library contains some 15,000 items relating chiefly to the social, economic, and political affairs of Southern California from 1827 to 1872. Some of these items are brief, inconsequential notes or memoranda; others, letters or documents of the first historical importance.

In the collection are numerous letters from Cave Coutts, one of the most prominent figures of early San Diego County, to his distinguished brother-in-law, Abel Stearns. The following letters have been selected from the Coutts-Stearns correspondence because they present an unusually vivid picture of the turbulent state of society, the dread approach of small pox, and the impending threat of drought that overhung San Diego County some ninety years ago.

Society in Southern California as a whole, during the fifties and sixties, as I tried to make evident some years ago in a book called *THE CATTLE ON A THOUSAND HILLS*, was even more rude, lawless turbulent than that of the chaotic cities and mining regions of the north. In San Diego and its back country the situation was greatly aggravated by a sparse and widely scattered population, the presence of numerous warlike Indians, an almost inaccessible hinterland, and the close proximity of the Mexican no-man's land

of Baja California — a region that then offered an inviting field for the activities of lawless American adventurers and filibusters and an almost inviolable sanctuary for raiding Indians, organized bands of cattle thieves, and refugee criminals of every sort.

Abel Stearns, to whom these four letters were addressed, filled a unique place in the history of Southern California and indeed, of the entire state. A New Englander by birth but a naturalized Mexican citizen, Stearns came to California in 1829 and for over four eventful decades inseparably identified himself with the land of his adoption.

During that time he was merchant, hide-and-tallow trader, *ranchero*, money-lender, land baron, miner, revolutionist, smuggler, mill owner, cattle breeder, civic benefactor, and real-estate promoter. His biography, indeed, was the "epitome of an age" and more than any other man of his generation he "personified both the Southern California of the Mexican tradition and the Southern California of the American period."

In 1841 Stearns married Arcadia, the fourteen-year old daughter of Don Juan Bandini. The latter was one of the most prominent Californians of the Spanish-Mexican period and owned numerous large *ranchos*, both in Alta and Baja California. Don Juan was twice married and had five sons and five exceptionally beautiful daughters — Arcadia, Isidora, Josefa, Dolores, and Margarita. All of these, with the exception of Josefa who married Pedro C. Carillo, found American husbands. Arcadia, as already remarked, married Abel Stearns; Dolores, Charles Johnson, merchant and sometimes county clerk of Los Angeles County; Margarita, the well-known Los Angeles physician, Dr. James B. Winston; and Isidora, Cave Johnson Coutts.

Coutts was a native of Tennessee, a graduate of West Point, and a lieutenant in the Mexican War. He came to California with the First U. S. Dragoons in 1848, spent some time as a member of the military escort of the Boundary Survey, and conducted the Whipple Expedition from San Diego to the Colorado. His brief DIARY of the latter expedition was published, with a preface by J. Gregg Layne, in 1932.

Coutts eventually rose to the rank of colonel but resigned his

Drought, Lawlessness and Smallpox

commission in 1851, soon after his marriage with Isidora Bandini, and became county judge in San Diego. Three years later, he and Isidora left San Diego to make their home on the *Rancho Guajome*, a valuable property adjacent to the Mission San Luis Rey which Isidora had received as a wedding gift from her rich and generous brother-in-law, Able Stearns. Coutts died on the ranch in the mid-seventies, a man of many friends and varied activities, as bitter in his enmities, according to Bancroft, as he was warm in his friendships.

As earlier remarked, Cout's letters, both from San Diego and the Guajome, give an intimate picture of the rough, lawless, frontier society of what now seems to us an inconceivably remote day and generation. The letters from the Guajome were written during the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1863 that spared neither town, *rancho* nor Indian village, and in the midst of the great drought that "destroyed tens of thousands of head of cattle on the sun-baked ranges and beside the waterless streams and sand-choked springs of Southern California."

It may be added that no changes have been made in Cout's punctuation or spelling in the letters.

San Diego, Cal., Mch 10, 1852

Don Abel:

Times are quite lively in S. Diego in the way of excitement. Two white men, *Vanness & McDonald*, have been killed in Lower Cal. between S. Rafael & Guadalupe, by the authorities. Vanness had been lurking around this town some four months, trying to organize a robbing party, all of which the authorities below were well acquainted with. Making his appearance there, and under very suspicious circumstances, a warrant was issued for both, a party of *six men* sent after them, met resistance and both were killed — after, as reported, firing first.

So far, all well. Another report is, that after the two men had given up their arms, they were barbarously murdered, their persons robbed & mutilated in a horrible manner — so as to make Don Juan, when he saw them, cry. This last is not generally cited, though Don Juan is looked for every day, when we will get the right story.

We had Vanness a prisoner in San Diego, in Jany. for endeavoring to organize a party for L. Cal., & in the absence of all civil officers, he came within a hairs breath of being *hung*. The party had gathered together to hang him, and I alone saved him — which the following day I regretted. The man McDonald, is said to have been a good inoffensive man, but his company subjected him to death.

A few days since, the jew (?) Franklin and Col. Magruder had a fist fight in the plaza. Fought some 15 min. & no damage: next day, the Col. whaled him all over the plaza with a stick; and since that, F. has been running about trying to find a Civil Officer to sue him — not one is to be found.

Day before yesterday, Edwar[d] Car, or Ker, at 8 in the morning, came up to my door, mounted my sorrel horse bareback, & broke for L. Cal. He had not gone 20 yards before the horse threw him, when he ran & mounted another & *put out*. This fortunately, was a horse that Santiajuito had the day previous returned me, *broken down*; & before the thief reached N. Town, I overhauled him brought him back, turned him over to the authorities, who put him in jail, & before 12M he was out & gone. We pursued him & brought him back: was again put in the worthless jail, when a party went down, took him out & gave him 50 well laid on his *bare back*. Incidences of the last two, are too common here to pretend to relate.

We are anxiously expecting you and Doña Arcadia. Ysidora says that if you will make haste & come down, she will call the prittiest boy you ever saw, *Abel Stearns*. We look for you by every steamer.

All very well & join in love to Arcadia. Regards to Brinley.

Truly Yrs., Cave J. Coutts

Guajome 4 Jany./'63 —

Don Abel:

I learn from Charley Johnson that the vouchers I sent you have probably been paid; and wrote you some time since the disposition to make of the money. I have received nothing on the subject from you — presume you have written me & the letter miscarried. Please advise me. These vouchers are received *conditionally*, and before Mr. Jeager fails (as I learn *his agents* will make him do) want to

Drought, Lawlessness and Smallpox

be certain they are paid . . . I am in want of money badly — have closed my shop, both for want of goods and pr. act. of *small pox*.

My taxes are due and not paid; but several of us fight the assessment of cattle at \$5 *per head*. We offered the whole amt. (assessment cattle at \$3) which of course the collector could not receive and give receipt. He, collector, tells me that very few in the county have paid on same account. Your taxes \$40, I directed to be paid by Monday next (with 5 pr. cent) out of funds due me — presume it will be done. Mrs. Bandini's is nothing.

We are all badly scared about smallpox — keep a sentinel posted to give notice of the approach of anyone, and have to know all about them before they can come nearer than the corral. Many around do same thing. Clayton arrived at San Luis Friday night, per stage, from Los Angeles, and no one would admit him in their houses — he had to travel all night for Sn. Bernardo. Have stop'd my *vaqueros* from their rounds in the *campo*, except the boy attending *Caballado mansa* who is so badly scared that he runs at the yelp of a coyote. Ysidro Alvarado's family nearly all have it. His wife gave birth to a child Monday last, and was yesterday secretly buried at San Luis, died of smallpox. Ysidro himself is dangerously ill — only his daughter (Lugarda) and a sonoranian to attend five at same time — no medical aid called — This is hearsay (as communication from one ranch to another is *accidental*) except as to the burial of his wife.

We are having severe weather — cold, windy days, clear nights & heavy frosts. Ther: at 40° and below every morning. Fires comfortable all day. Stock of all kinds having a hard time.

Ysidora & M[ari]a Ant[oni]a join in *muchas saludes* — *tambien á* Doña Arcadia. M[ari]a Ant[oni]a says she is *muy trieste* because you did not answer her letter.

Truly Yrs., Cave J. Coutts

Guajome, Feby. 2d/63.

Don Abel:

Yours of 20th ult. recd. — You are so brief in your letter, that it affords us little or no satisfaction in this, tail end of cow counties. We have had no rains nothing but frost & cold northers. If the up country follows suit — all loose about half or two thirds of their

cattle, then we stand at *par* — Passengers & all from above report *good rains* — we hope (& particularly from your letter) that it is not so — that is, we want to keep pace with them. About the plains of Los Angeles, you can gather your hides but with us in little valleys gorges etc, hard for us to save them — At any rate, if the season continues as promised we will have little necessity of killing off *third part*. I have had the *Campo* abandoned the past two months — save now & then looking after the *caballado mansa* — on account of *small pox*. It is on the increase, from Los Angeles down, **but am very careful** about its reaching my ranch.

I returned from San Diego yesterday — small pox, all around — We had a county convention, of which I send you proceedings — Would go up myself but am afraid to leave home. Fear much (from what I know of them) that you have failed to get the proper kind of men to act in the cattle business. *Good fellows*, simply, won't do for an undertaking of this kind. You, as president, from the large amt. of stock you have is the only item in the whole concern to amt. to anything. Two or three or more, are wanted to manage *actively*, not as old as you are, & at same time who are beginning their fortunes — or, what fortunes they may have consists in stock — such men as Bruce, Moore, Davis etc. won't answer for such an undertaking.

We had a meeting in San Diego, as you will see from the enclosed, and named you as our representative.

I want some *wool sacks* for the coming spring. Please advise me about them — also, if you meet *Brannan*, make some enquires about *good bucks* and some ewes — as to cost of, etc. that I may hereafter raise my own bucks.

All very well & join in *Saludes á Doña Arcadia*.

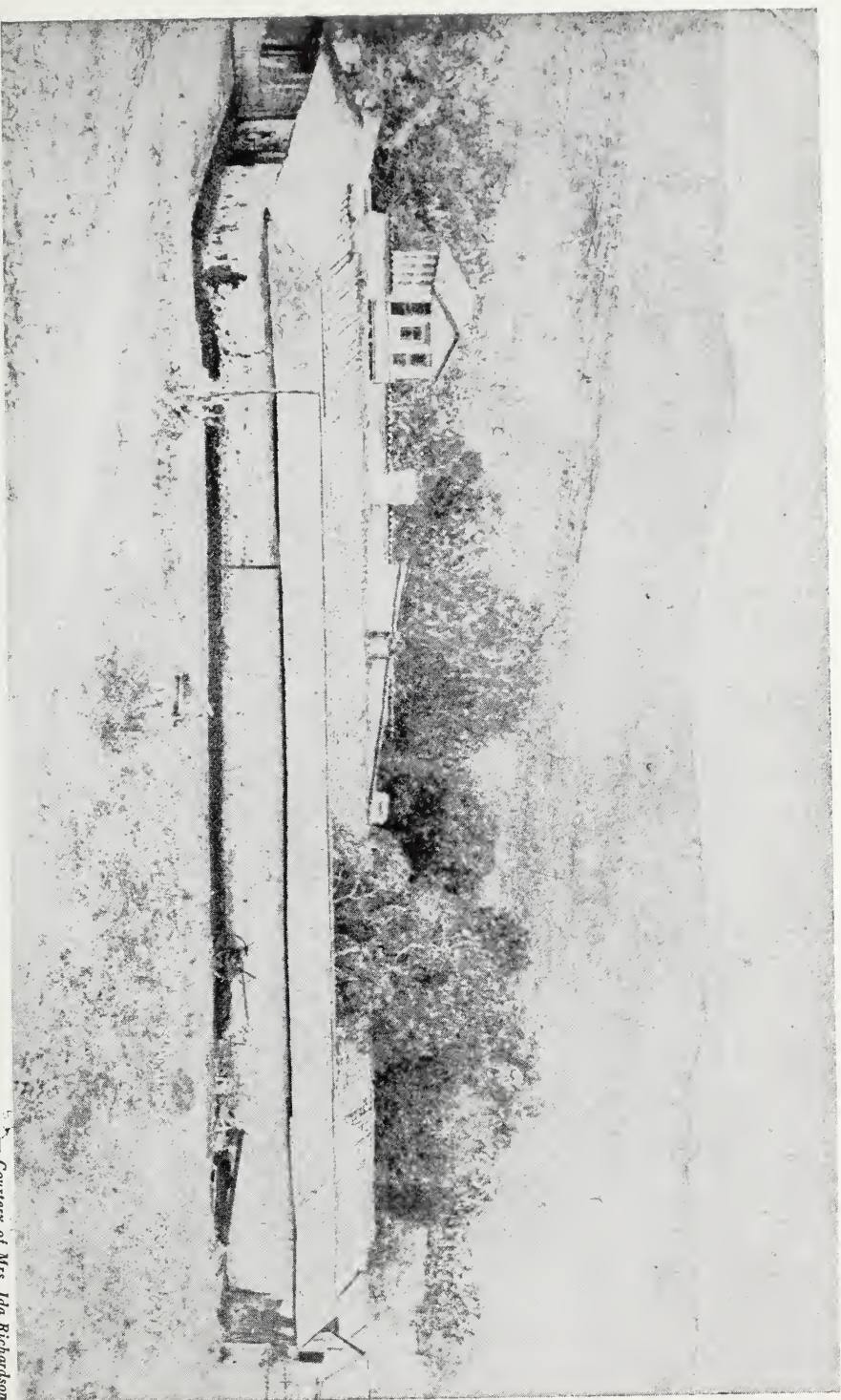
Truly Yrs., Cave J. Coutts

Guajome, Feby. 8/63.

Don Abel:

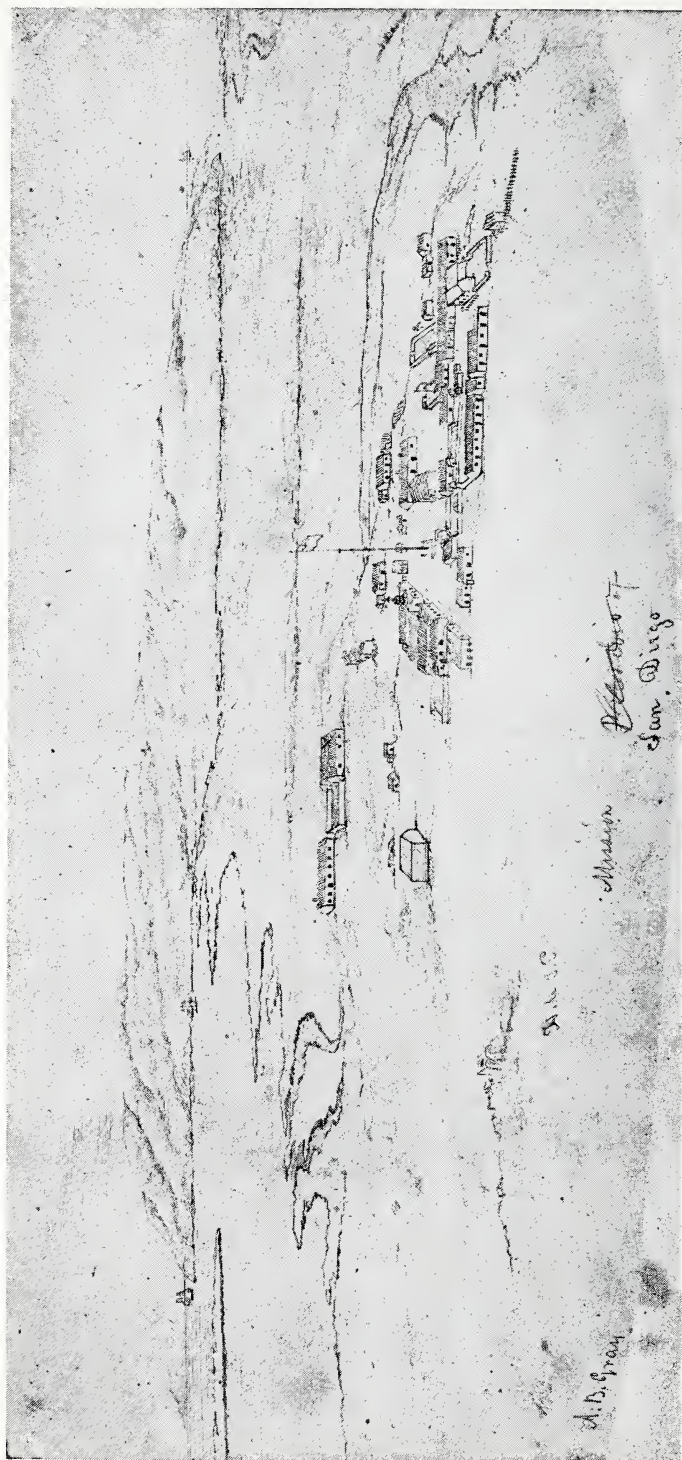
Yrs. pr Steamer recd. with enclosures. The small pox appears still on the increase. Now nearer us than formerly (M^t Serat).

There would have been no difficulty at the time Don Ysidro was buried, but as soon as my brother drove up to the cemetery and spoke, they (five or six sonoranians) sung "to arms" and one of



AN EARLY VIEW OF THE GUAJOME RANCH

— Courtesy of Mrs. Ida Richardson



SAN DIEGO IN JANUARY, 1850

From an original drawing, in the Huntington Library, by H. M. T. Powell.

Drought, Lawlessness and Smallpox

them jumped the old wall & come at him with his knife. He had his shot gun, (loaded for geese) and the sonoranian made it a life and deth matter with him without another word passing, and in less time than in narrating the above. Blunt was forced to shoot him or be killed himself. No other words passed. The story of two or three more being wounded is all false — no other shot was fired, and an old *adobe* wall between the man killed and the balance of the party. I saw Tomas a few days previous to this unfortunate occurrence, and made the suggestion to him, which he tho't well of, to bury all who died with small pox in the hills, somewhere near Mt. Serat, and when the pest passed off, to get a *Padre* and bury the dead where [they] pleased. In place of doing this, the band of sonorans living there and at Pala, got drunk as soon as Don Ysidro was dead (from wine he had at his ranch), and one of them left the body on the road, come to my house, tried to ride over the guard kept at the back of my house, come directly in the corral where he met me & would not leave until I drew my pistol & was in the very act of shooting him — would have shot him but for the fear of handling his body afterwards.

The burial ground at San Luis Rey, is a very small place — long since full. A grave cannot be dug without striking human bones — they were digging *little holes*, barely deep enough to cover the coffins, and really making an irish wake over the dead bodies about the Mission building before putting the dead in the little hole prepared. This conduct with the *rancheria* adjoining, and proximity of my own ranch (just N. West), caused me to remonstrate against the burial of such cases there, and which I still adhere to. Blunt being under Sheriff, sent him there to try & prevent it — but the accident was forced on him, which he would [have] gladly avoided. The man killed, (Sino Basquez) is by no means any loss to the community. I learn that he has a family — if so, I shall do better by them than he ever would have done, giving him a long life. Judge Hayes was here at the time (in San Diego) who I immediately made acquainted with the facts. He is well satisfied that Blunt was forced to act as he did to save his own life. Two vile political bummers (Hoffman & Sloan) from San Diego, make false statements in the "Alta" & "Bulletin," which I may reply to in a few

days. In place of the Californians being prejudiced against me or Blunt, they give credit for same. You can hardly imagine the dread spread thro' the county by this terrible *viruelas* [smallpox].

We had a little rain yesterday — pasture is scarcer than ever known — raining now.

M[ari]a Ant[oni]a & Refugia are here — the balance of the Puritanians will be here to-day or to-morrow, to marry Pancho, on Tuesday — no others will be present, as we fear any kind of gathering on account of smallpox. Fear Pancho carries his pigs to a bad market. No others will be present but Blunt & Capt. Wilcox — By the way tell Doña Arcadia I rather think M[ari]a Ant[oni]a & Capt. Wilcox will make a match. He is much of a man.

I would like when you meet Brannan some day, (or any other who has fine sheep), to see what chance there is to buy some fine *bucks & ewes* — to trade other stock some way. If you can, do so. Also, about some *wool sacks*, or stuff to make them of. If you can, attend this at once. With a sewing machine here we can make them directly. Will shear near 1800, and think they will run 5 lbs: or over — want to shear 1st March, as middle of March they will lamb. I have a Hay press, it would probably be better to bale it. If as good this way, try and send me some cheap stuff to put round it — also a bale of spun yarn for ties.

Some time since I got Mr. Morse, in San Diego, to have the roof of the old Bandini house fixed — two sides have fallen in — to cost about \$50, and draw on you for it. I had forgotten in writing to you to mention it. It is *not the same* as fixed last year.

All well & join in *saludes* — *tambien* Doña A.

Truly Yrs., Cave J. Coutts

12.M — The ground tolerably soaked, and still raining.

Mr. Lyons, in San Diego, is anxious to buy the lot of Doña Refugia, where the garden was (near the Palm tree) — The wall nearly all fell down last winter. Let me know if for sale, price etc. He will probably give 75 or 100\$ Ysidora wants Doña Arcadia to send her 2 *Head dresses*, or *Hair netts* — large sized — I have sent to Mr. Hooker for a few things, and give him an order on you for \$100 — C.J.C.

The Gabilan Peak Campaign of 1846

By Richard H. Dillon

Branch Librarian, California State Library, Sutro Branch, San Francisco



THE STORY of the Mexican Californians' reaction to Frémont's expedition has not been fully or clearly told as yet. A manuscript which throws some light on the bumbling, albeit patriotic, response to the Yankee "invasion" is the statement given Thomas Savage by Augustín Escobar, a *juez de campo* in Monterey in 1846¹ His story of the Gabilán² Peak crisis and the days following it add detail and color to the history of that period in California.

It will be recalled that March 3, 1846, saw John Charles Frémont and his half-a-hundred men camped some twenty-five miles from Monterey, near the Hartnell Ranch.³ On that day a Mexican cavalry officer, Lieutenant Chávez, rode up to the American bivouac and delivered a letter from General Castro. This message ordered the *gringos* to leave the Department of California immediately.⁴

Frémont refused to comply and next day moved to the high ridge between the Salinas and San Joaquín Rivers, camping on Gabilán Peak. This height dominated the Salinas plain and the San Joaquín Valley, allowing a retreat, should it be necessary, to the San Joaquín River.⁵

A rough log fort was built and, as the company cheered, the American flag was raised. Here Frémont remained for three days (March 7-10, 1846) with the Stars and Stripes waving over Mexican territory while Consul Larkin and various Californians sent him information about the activities down below.⁶

Frémont wrote Larkin on March 9th, from the "*Pic del Gabelano*," stating that "I am making myself as strong as possible, and in the intention that if we are unjustly attacked we will fight to extremity and refuse quarter, trusting to our country to avenge us."⁷

Using a telescope, Frémont could observe the Mexican troops led by Castro as they gathered at Mission San Juan Bautista. *Vaqueros* informed him that Indian auxiliaries were being brought into Castro's camp where they were plied with liquor. In the afternoon he spied cavalry movements, including one by a body of forty horsemen which moved up the road toward Gabilán Peak. He placed forty men in ambush in a thicket but the Mexicans halted, consulted for a time amongst themselves, and turned back.⁸

Writing Mrs. Frémont on April 1st, he said: "The Spaniards were somewhat rude and unhospitable below, and ordered us out of the country, after having given us permission to winter there. My sense of duty did not permit me to fight them, but we retired slowly and growlingly before a force of four hundred men and three pieces of artillery."⁹

Frémont was apparently afraid to compromise the United States and therefore refrained from committing any hostile action, retiring instead from his position on the peak.¹⁰

Thomas Larkin, however, wrote to the United States Consul at Mazatlán (March 9, 1846), asking him for a sloop of war since he feared that much blood would be shed at Gabilán Peak, because Frémont had only fifty men and from three to six guns, rifles and pistols each" against a force of nearly 300 Californians.¹¹

General Castro sent John Gilroy, a long-time resident of the region, to make offers to Frémont on March 11. When Gilroy arrived at Frémont's position, he found the campground deserted, campfires still burning, and abandoned tent poles, clothing, saddles and a flagstaff marking the site. With the vanishing of Frémont, Castro's party demobilized and went home during the period March 11-13.¹²

The Gabilan Peak Campaign of 1846

Bancroft, noting the disinclination of Castro to attack Frémont at Gabilán Peak, still believed that "of the two, Frémont made by far the greater fool of himself." The Escobar manuscript, which follows, will indicate that Castro's campaign was something on the order of an *opéra bouffe* itself.

Don Estéban de la Torre introduced Escobar to Thomas Savage, one of H. H. Bancroft's scribes, in order that the latter might obtain information on the campaign against Frémont, conducted by Colonel and ex-governor Alvarado, which might be useful to the Bancroft Library. On May 9, 1877, Escobar related the story to Savage as follows, titling it "*La Campaña de '46 Contra Los Americanos en California.*" (The manuscript, in Spanish, is in the Bancroft Library, University of California.)

"In 1846 I came from the southern ranch where I had been hunting in the Sierras and brought with me some otter skins when, suddenly, there appeared in the middle of the road a man who came up to me speaking a foreign language which I did not understand, and this I stated in my own tongue. He was blocking me off from the road with his horse but as he did not make use of his arms, I did not use mine either, but was trying to open the way in order to continue my trip.

"After various attempts to pass, I reached for my rifle and then he, without taking up his own weapon, gave a shout and I saw myself surrounded immediately by six or eight men armed with rifles. One of them who spoke Spanish asked if I did not know that the United States was at war with Mexico. I answered that I did not know it because I had just arrived from the mountains where I had been more than a month. This was when Frémont was moving about in the vicinity of Gabilán Hill.

"The result of all this was that they made me deliver up my horse, saddle rifle but did not take the pelts away from me. As best I could, I made my way to the town of Monterey.

"About a month later, or somewhat less, Don Juan Bta. Alva-

rado summoned me and asked if I would like to take up arms, since it appeared that the Americans wished to seize the country and it was necessary to defend it as much as we might be able to do so. I answered him that I was ready to die in the defense of my country, together with my other compatriots. I left then with the force of Californians from here in Monterey, bound for San Juan Bautista to join Don José Castro who was there.

“We camped with Colonel Alvarado at Los Pilarcitos, against a fence, in the open without shelter.

“Our total force must have been some sixty or seventy men who were divided into encampments, one in charge of Alvarado, and the other, at some distance, in charge of the Perfect Don Manuel Castro. I belonged to the Alvarado squad. On setting up camp, a guard of four soldiers and one corporal was named and was placed at the orders of Don Estévan de la Torre, of the guard of honor.

“That night, around 9 o'clock, I was sentinel in the immediate area of the great bonfire lit because of the cold. At the other side was Señor Alvarado who had his bed laid out. He was reclining there, taking swallows of liquor until he became very drunk.

“At this juncture, Tiburcio, a soldier of my company, arrived. He was very drunk also and began to shout ‘*Vivas!*’ for Colonel Alvarado, repeating them with such frequency that Alvarado became angry and ordered him to retire, but Soto would not obey and there followed a long quarrel until the furious Alvarado gave me orders to shoot Soto, but the officer of the guard, Don Estévan de la Torre, signaled me not to shoot.

“I told Soto several times to move off, but he did not obey. Finally, Señor Alvarado, highly annoyed, ordered de la Torre to carry Soto off, form the guard, and there, to one side against the fence, to shoot him four times. La Torre obeyed, taking Soto away but it appears that he conformed only in dispatching Soto out of camp.

The Gabilan Peak Campaign of 1846

"Some time later Alvarado asked me, 'Aguias, where is Soto?' I answered, 'Well, didn't you order that he be taken away?' 'Yes, all right,' he replied, and turned over to go to sleep. I believed that de la Torre would do no more than tie up Soto and keep him until his drunkenness should pass, since I could not believe that he was capable of shooting Soto in obedience of an order given by a man who was out of his senses.

"Well, this can be believed since I, though being a sentinel, was called by Alvarado to take a drink and although I regretted it very much, on account of the great cold, I had to excuse myself. He insisted, however, and I did not need much urging. They [the drinks] kept pouring and I drank with much pleasure.

"On the following morning, as soon as we had breakfasted, we continued to San Juan where we joined Señor [José] Castro. In the afternoon of the following day an American presented himself in our camp to speak with Don José Castro. There they had a conversation but I did not find out what they discussed. During our stay there Señor Castro amused himself firing salvos at an alder tree with a *culverin*, knocking the tree to pieces. The artilleryman who directed the shots was Don Francisco Rico.

"We had understood that Captain Frémont, with his party, was intrenched in Gabilán Hill. We camped in the corridors of the *plaza* of the San Juan Mission. Don José Castro ordered Domingo Hernández and Capistrano López to go up and explore the ground occupied by Frémont. Upon their return they said that Frémont was there with his forces intrenched, and ready to fight.

"Suddenly, the notice came that Frémont and his people had disappeared from the hill. There was no attack upon Frémont despite the requests of many of us because Castro opposed it, alleging that there was no necessity for spilling blood, and that he did not want to take the responsibility for the California blood that would be spilled. All were anxious to fight and we became disgusted with Castro for having impeded us. Among us there was a company of excellent riflemen who would have shone in combat.

"From this discontent there followed a revolution against [Don José] Castro and Alvarado, to put Francisco Rico and Manuel Castro in their places but it appears that the former got word of it and suddenly the commanding general dissolved our auxiliary companies. To carry out this act he had formed his Presidio of Monterey Company and another auxiliary from the ranches of Gilroy and San Isidro, and had located the cannon carefully, loaded with grapeshot, with the cannoneer ready and the fuse burning. He delivered a harangue to us and told us to march back to our homes, and this we did."

(The remainder of the Escobar manuscript does not concern the Gabilán Peak episode but is an interesting commentary on the conditions in California in the days that followed, when partisan factions were active.)

"After this I maintained myself here in my house in Monterey and also at the Saucito ranch. On this ranch I found myself one day when already the United States flag was flying at Monterey. There Don Enrique Canbustón, Don Francisco Rico, Don Pedro Narváez, others of the country, and an American presented themselves. I invited them to dismount; they asked me if I could give them something to eat, and said that they would pay.

"I answered that I would give them everything I had without the necessity of their paying me. Seeing among them a fellow compatriot and friend, Don Pedro Narváez, I hurried more in serving them. The American was almost trampling on my wife with his horse when she told him to back up — she was making the meal outside the house — and he retired to one side.

"When the tea was ready and I was carrying the tea pot inside the house, just before entering, Canbustón, Narváez and Rico put pistols to my chest, and upon my asking them why they did this, they told me because I refused to aid those who fought for the Fatherland. I responded that I had always been quick to defend it against foreign enemies but never to combat my countrymen, that it pleased me more to attend to my business and my family, and not involve myself in uproars.

The Gabilan Peak Campaign of 1846

“Finally, after threats from one or the other party, they tied my hands with a halter because a certain Francisco Pinto had ordered me to be silent and asked me if I didn’t know who Don Francisco was. I looked at the latter and said he was Pancho Rico. Then Pinto asked me if I did not know that Rico was an officer, to which I replied that I did not nor did it matter to me.

“After being tied, my wife and daughter began to weep but I ordered them to go away, telling them that death did not frighten me, because it must be observed that they had threatened to shoot me immediately. I told them to hand me my arms, which they had already seized, and afterwards they could deal with me. But, of course, they paid no attention to my protests and took not only my arms but a small box which contained about 2./2\$ [*sic*]

“The next day I came to Monterey and informed Judge Colton of what had happened — he made a note of the names of the individuals whom I mentioned — and wished to give me a force to pursue them but I answered that they had already gone and it would be useless. The priest also spoke with the judge — I don’t know what passed between them.

“Dr. Teodoro Gonzalez (still living in Monterey in 1877) called me to question me about what had happened with Pancho Rico, his stepson and adopted son, and I answered that I believed that it had all been a drunken carousal — in truth, I believed so. I advised him that I had notified the authorities. I remained embittered by the conduct of Rico, but Don Teodoro begged me not to say anything against his son, [assuring me] that he would pay for everything. Later he handed over to me all my arms and since then Rico and I have continued being friends.

“Later, I had Canbustón imprisoned and Don Pedro Narváez suffered good blows at the hands of my brother, José M^a Escobar. I considered that that had been punishment enough and I did not wish to order him before the judge.

“In the political questions which occurred in the country to overthrow the governor named by the Supreme Government of

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Mexico, I and my brothers always abstained from taking part, because we were born in California and our mother also, [while] our father was from Mexico and we did not believe it right to fight against our father and our common Fatherland. Thus we maintained ourselves free from compromises and attended to our business. We were not the only ones. There were many others who thought in the same way and never offered to take part in the political convulsions here — father always supported the constituted government.”

At the request of Augustín Escobar
May 9, 1877


Tho. Savage

SOURCES

1. Bancroft, H. H., *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Co. Publishers, 1886) V, p. 637.
2. The official spelling of the Spanish word for “sparrow hawk” which has been given to the peak and range by the U. S. Geographic Board is Gabilán rather than the customary Gavilán of modern Spanish usage.
3. Frémont, John Charles. *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago and New York: Belford, Clark & Co., 1887) I, p. 458.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 459
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 460
7. *Ibid.*, p. 463
8. *Ibid.*, p. 460
9. *Ibid.*, p. 460-61.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 461.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 464.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 468.
13. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

El Alisal: The House that Lummis Built

By Dudley Gordon

O THOSE WHO KNEW HIM, it was not surprising that Charles F. Lummis would build a house unlike any ever built before or since. Had he not already distinguished himself as author, editor, archaeologist, explorer, poet, athlete, librarian and scholar? Wern't his achievements well-known as crusader, encyclopedist, linguist, critic, newspaper man, musician, *bon vivant* and glorious host? And didn't everyone know of his skill as historian, lecturer, photographer, translator, cook, Americanist, museum builder and, some say, actor? Was it not expected that he would become his own architect, contractor, builder, mason, electrician, plumber and cabinet maker?

It is obvious that Lummis was unique, unlike any man who ever lived before. He was an original, unconventional he-man. His mind was as sharp as a steel trap. His muscles were as supple and tough as a tiger's, and he was forever flexing them when given the slightest encouragement. Although an active practioner, he was not content merely to live "the vigorous life" physically and mentally. He made a career of it — eighteen to twenty hours each day. Once he would have been described as a human dynamo, but that seems inadequate. Today it is more appropriate to say that throughout his long aggressive career he was an atomic pile on two sturdy legs.

The urge to build a home is deep-rooted in men. With Charlie Lummis it was a persistant passion. (The desire for an appropriate memorial to himself was probably in his mind.) With his own hands, and the help of an Indian boy, over a period of seventeen years at six to eight hours per day, Lummis built an eighteen room

dwelling-museum of boulders from the *Arroyo Seco*. He built a long-enduring home for his family, his posterity and the community for all time. Elsewhere it would be called a castle. He named it *El Alisal*, the place of the sycamores. It is one of Los Angeles' cultural assets and, when once visited, it will be forever cherished. It is now a state park and is maintained for public use by the Park Department of Los Angeles County.

In 1895 Lummis acquired three acres of boulder strewn land on the west bank of the *Arroyo Seco* extending from Avenue 42 to Avenue 43. It was then "away out in the country" to the north of Los Angeles and possessed a good view of the growing city. It also possessed a gigantic sycamore with four enormous branches pointing out the directions of the compass. It was the sycamore which influenced Lummis' choice of the site. The boulders determined the type of structure he would build. (It is interesting to note that, years later, Greek George, one of the original drivers of Uncle Sam's only Camel Corps, identified the giant sycamore as the one under which he and his charges frequently rested on supply carrying treks between Los Angeles and the military outposts in the desert. The Camel Corps became a Civil War casualty when their patron, Lt. Edward F. Beale, was called back East for a new assignment. The patient, efficient camels were left in charge of inexperienced, unsympathetic men who preferred to use the mule with whose eccentricities they were familiar.)

Having selected the site for his mammoth museum-home-memorial, Lummis rolled up his sleeves, spat on his hands and went to work in his characteristic whole-hearted fashion. Soon he had erected temporary quarters for his growing family. Then he turned his attention to the erection of the building that was to be his equivalent of a gymnasium for the next twenty years. From dawn until dusk thereafter he and his Indian boy helper hauled rocks and sand, mixed mortar, laid course after course of cobbles, and *El Alisal* began to take shape.

A constant flow of celebrities would call upon Lummis where they found him at his work. This kept up while they talked business. Often he would call down to them to climb the scaffolding

El Alisal: The House that Lummis Built

and to "Bring up a bucket of cement as you come." One visitor wrote afterwards of being thrilled to see this Harvard-product man of letters attired in white duck overalls, with a red bandana on his head, go scampering up the scaffold in his bare feet in performance of the job at hand. Meanwhile he answered her questions, offered his observations and made pertinent suggestions. So impressed was this interviewer that she reported to her magazine as follows "He is as powerful muscularly as he is acute mentally, so that it can be readily seen that it is nothing but play for him to build a huge stone house."

After he had been wrestling with granite boulders up to three feet in diameter for ten years some one asked him when he expected to finish the building. In characteristic fashion he replied: "Why, never I hope. It is my gymnasium." Another time he wrote "I would rather take pleasure in putting in 2,600 tons of masonry than in 2,000,000 strokes with a golf club — because it leaves a mark."

Using the gnarled old sycamore as a pivot about which life in *El Alisal* was to revolve, Lummis erected a U shaped structure whose dimensions are ninety feet by sixty. The front, or long side, is a two-story affair faced with boulders. It overlooks Los Angeles whose culture he enriched as city editor of the *Times*, city librarian, editor of the *Land of Sunshine Magazine*, founder of the Southwest Museum, preserver of the San Fernando and San Juan Capistrano Missions and of our Spanish heritage in history, art, literature, song, cookery and street names. The northwest corner is adorned with a thirty-foot circular tower and a campanile or bell tower patterned after one at San Gabriel Mission. The circular tower enclosed Lummis' den where he wrote a number of books, all of which emphasized the theme of the slogan he originated — "*See America First.*" It was from this den that he conducted his campaigns to make better Indians by treating them better, to preserve science from crackpots who would purge textbooks of any mention of evolution. It was here that he worked on what would have been his most outstanding achievement — his dictionary, concordance and encyclopedia on Spain in America from 1492 until 1850. He made detailed

references on 30,000 index cards but was forced to quit working on it. The public and the scientific societies lacked Lummis' vision. They were not ready for such a noble project. As a result, we have had to spend multi-millions to buy the friendship of Latin America where, earlier, a few thousands would have provided us with knowledge of our neighbors to the south that would assure us their everlasting friendliness. As understanding between neighbors increases, the opportunity for misunderstanding diminishes.

The interior of the building demonstrates that Lummis practiced what he preached when he said "A man should put much of himself into the building of his home." From the floor of three feet of concrete to the joists of one foot in diameter there are evidences of his handiwork. Each joist was charred and rubbed until it displayed the grain under a satiny finish. The ceilings are of two-inch redwood planks. The doors are four inches thick and dovetailed uniquely. Upon seeing one of these doors the observer realizes what Lummis meant when he declared "That any fool can write a book, and most of them are doing it — but it takes a man to make a dovetailed door." The windows are three inches thick and each is different from the others. One room has windows made from glass photographic negatives of pictures made by Lummis in his extensive travels over the Southwest.

The fireplaces in each room are patterned after those found throughout New Mexico. They are located in a corner and the firebed is raised about eighteen inches above the floor. They are more efficient than our traditional ones and may be attended without bending over uncomfortably. Each fireplace is adorned with a fitting inscription. A typical one states: "A casual savage struck two stones together — now man is armed against the weather."

Windows are draped with fringed buckskin curtains. The walls are covered with ancient missal leaves of parchment, autographed letters and portraits from Theodore Roosevelt, Will Rogers, John Burroughs Collis P. Huntington, Ernst Thompson Seaton and John Muir with paintings by William Keith, Maynard Dixon, Gutzon Borglum and others, and with relics and mementoes from travels over North, Central and South America.

El Alisal: The House that Lummis Built

On the floors and over much of the furniture are an abundance of priceless Navajo blankets. Splendid specimens of Indian pottery, some of it prehistoric, are to be found wherever it could be tucked. The furniture itself is nondescript, because Lummis hadn't been able to fulfill his plan of making it. The bench and cabinet work which he did complete is worthy of the craftsman he was.

The ironwork — locks, hinges, keys, and guns, each has an interesting story. They came from old dwellings, missions, forts, temples in Mexico, Central Peru, Bolivia and our own Southwest. They are examples of the handicraft of Spain, the Pueblos, Aztecs, Incas, Mayans and Yankees. They, along with hundreds of items in his many collections are memorabilia of his travels, explorations, excavations and contracts with primitive peoples. The lock on the front door (which is never opened) is as large as a child's head. The Toltec inscription on the door is the work of artist Maynard Dixon.

The walls of the museum, eighteen inches thick, are rose tinted. The kitchen walls are shaped like those one would expect to find in a mosque. They are curved upward and terminate in a narrow skylight or vent. The whole of the ground floor may be cleaned in record time by the judicious use of a garden hose. Thus, the three major rooms, each eighteen feet wide and eighteen, twenty-three and twenty-seven feet long, were easily maintained.

Pictures, each an example of the artistry of fine western painting, and each a gift from the artist to Lummis, their intimate friend, are hanging from the walls. They are displayed in frames of copper facing — another example of Lummis' handicraft. All about the house one may enjoy the work of William Keith, Carl O. Borg, Ed. Borein, Alex. Harmer, Thomas Moran, George Townsend Cole, William Wendt and others.

The patio, fifty feet by seventy-five feet, with building and covered walks draped around three sides, faces north toward Sycamore Grove and Pasadena. Its vista includes the *Arroyo Seco* and the nearby Southwest Museum which adorns a steep acropolis on the left.

Once, after a hike along the river in the *arroyo*, Theodore Roosevelt remarked to Lummis that "Some day this will make the

most beautiful park in America." Then, returning to *El Alisal*, they entered the kitchen where Lummis washed and Teddy dried the dishes. The Southwest Museum, which occupies the place in our culture that Lummis founded it to do, is an asset which any city should be proud to possess.

Dominating the *patio*, *Alcalde Mayor*, the old sycamore, stretches its massive limbs hither and yon, throwing a protective shade over the walks and nearby lily pool. Here lived the Horn Pout, fish who came to the surface when Lummis whistled. Here lived a mammoth African frog with voice almost as loud and lusty as Lummis'. Somewhere around was Methusalem, the turtle of unknown age. It was in the *patio* where the family ate many of their meals. It was here where Lummis so often read or told Indian folktales to the children, his own or the neighbors'.

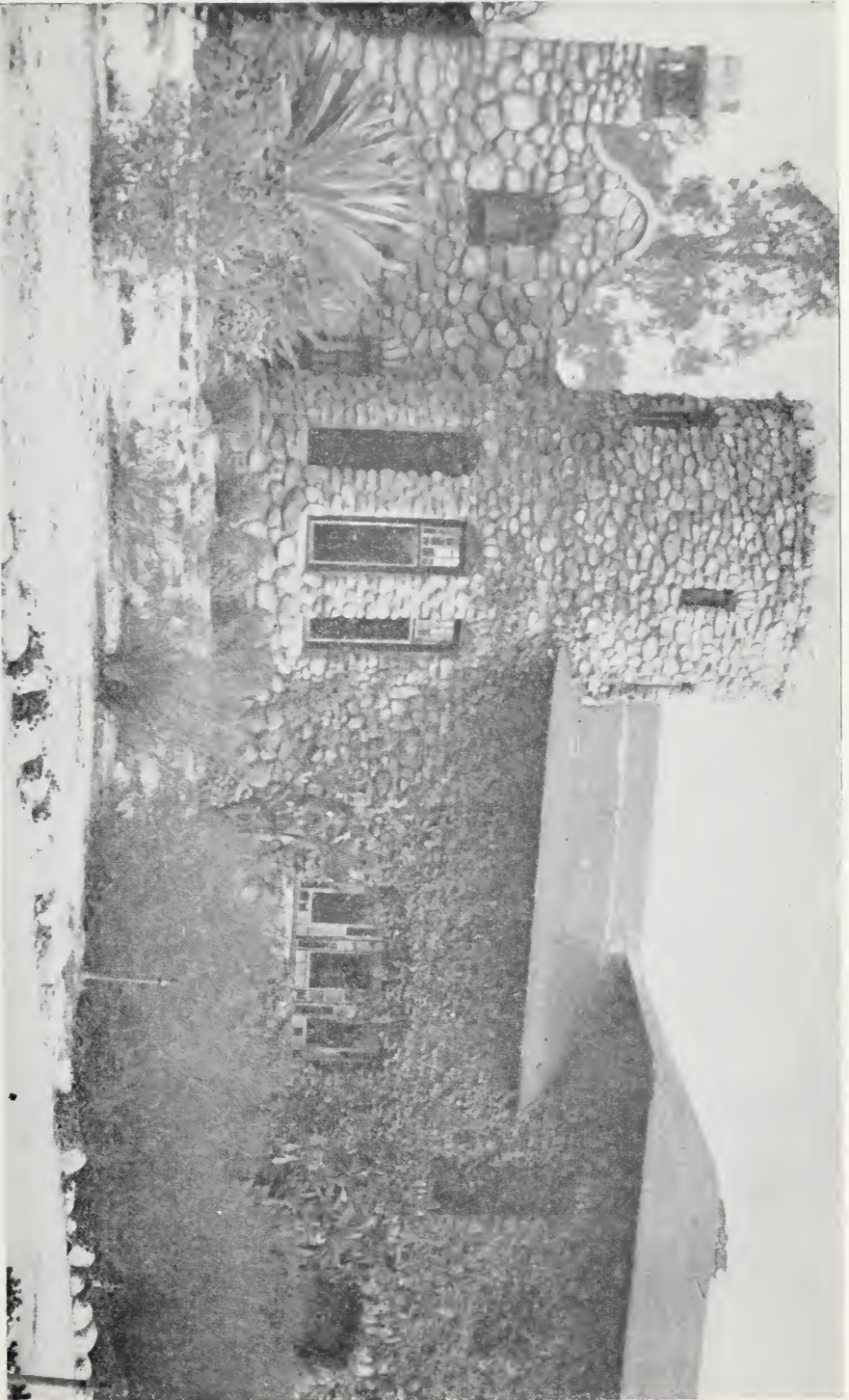
What celebrated guests have been entertained at *El Alisal* which was an American equivalent of a salon for three decades, from 1898 until 1928. Actors, musicians, educators, writers, statesmen, scientists, cowboys, artists, sculptors, singers, anyone who was some one and could wangle an invitation, was likely to be there, and to remember the event ever after.

The guest book contains inscriptions by Sarah Bernhardt, Madame Modjeska, Maude Allen, Mary Garden, John Muir, John Burroughs, Edwin Markham, Ina Coolbrith, Gutzon Borglum, Hamlin Garland, Ernst Thompson Seton, Mary Austin, David Starr Jordan, Frederick W. Hodge, Joaquin Miller. Also there are T.R., Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Douglas Fairbanks, The Duke of Alba, Charles Wakefield Cadman, Eleanor Hague, Harry H. Knibbs, Elizabeth Benton Frémont, Frank Gibson, Dr. J. A. Munk, the O'Melvenys, the Dockweilers, the Newmarks, Sumner P. Hunt, Joe Scott, John Comfort Fillmore, Will Rogers, Harry Carey, William Gibbs McAdoo, Arthur Farwell, L. E. Behymer and many, many more. In fact, until 1928 no other Southern California home had been visited by so many contributors to American culture.

On such occasions as the Saturday night "Noises" or the meeting of the March Hares, laughter, song and hilarity would make



DON CARLOS LUMMIS
at the entrance of El Alisal.



THE LUMMIS HOME

The tower in which Don Carlos had his "Lion's Den." Many of his books and articles were written here.

El Alisal: The House that Lummis Built

the very rafters ring. Lucky were those who were invited to be present. They were in for a good time which they would recall vividly decades later, for it was then that Lummis performed in his own inimitable fashion as a California host.

After the guests arrived they would assemble in the dining room where a trial would be held. Lummis, at the head of the table, and dressed in a tightfitting buckskin coat, covering a soft-bosomed, Spanish drawnwork shirt which revealed the vivid red Bayeta undershirt beneath, would call the court to order by rapping the table with an oldtime Spanish pistol.

The culprits, or neophytes, who were charged with not knowing what a real, old California good time was, would be arraigned before the court by the *aguacil* or sheriff. The latter wore a large metal badge and carried a Spanish short sword suspended by a chain that ran about his shoulders like the branch of a boy's suspenders. Joe Scott, one of the city's leading criminal lawyers would prosecute. They would be defended and after a time they would be formally acquitted and adopted into the family.

After the trial, dinner would be served by Lummis' Spanish gardner-troubador. The menu for one of the dinners was:

Aguardiente de Albaricoque
Vino Blanco *Hasta Acabar* (chicken)
Enchiladas a la Paisana (chicken)
Pollo al Alcalde *Califlor de Hoy*
Frijoles de Ayer *Papas al Infalable*
Macarones a la Andulusa
Queso a Don Carlos *Cafe a la Negrita*

Between courses the troubador would circle the table singing Mexican and Spanish songs to his own accompaniment on the guitar. At each chorus Lummis would insisted that everyone present join in.

A highlight at the "Noises" would occur when Lummis would put down his fork, pick up the Spanish pistol, and point it as someone around the table. Then that someone would be commanded

to sing for his supper. Of course if he couldn't sing, he might dance, or tell a story or otherwise account for himself.

Following the dinner there would be music, singing, storytelling, and an entertaining exchange of anecdotes. At midnight the party would end and the guests would go home having enjoyed an evening of oldtime hospitality freely extended and without price, except when funds were low, as they sometimes were, then a few of the "regulars" would see to it that Elena, the irreplaceable cook, had enough money to carry on with.

The March Hares, intimates who were born in the same month as Lummis, year after year received the following invitation: "Dear Bunny, the hounds are after you. Postpone death, marriage, taxes and other disasters. Be here on March 1st. Cabbage at six. Madness begins later." And on that day artists, artisans, scientists, cronies from his old days at city editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, and others would assemble at his table for food, drink, song, sprightly talk and general good fellowship.

Fully aware of the fact that in this country private collections and inheritances are scattered or dissipated in a short time. Lummis sought to prevent that disaster by deeding to the Southwest Museum his complete historical, scientific and philological library and his artifacts from the Indians of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador and Peru and the native tribes of the Southwest. This he did in 1910 with the stipulation that its three museum rooms would be opened free to the public for stated hours each week, and that his family and descendants shall have tenure of the remaining rooms forever. This he felt would insure a beautiful and safe home to his posterity, forever free from rent, taxes or debts. It would insure to the public an important, unique free museum of science, art and history; an example not only of durable architecture, but also of living ingenuity and devotion in the building of a home.

And so it remained until 1939 when, due to a shortage of funds, the Southwest Museum was no longer able to maintain *El Alisal*, having expended more than \$27,000.00 on its upkeep over the years. There was the possibility that the property would be sold for a pittance when the League of Women Voters met to save the house

El Alisal: The House that Lummis Built

and property as a memorial under the leadership of Mrs. J. L. Criswell and Marian Parks, others rallied to the cause. Among them were Althea Warren, the city librarian, Hobart Bosworth, Joe Scott, Marco Newmark, L. E. Behymer, Frederick W. Hodge, Grace Stoermer, Mrs. F. N. Noll, Mrs. Schultz, Mrs. Leone G. Plum, Florence D. Schoneman, Orpha Klinker, Mary Wakeman, City Councilman Arthur Briggs and many others.

After an extended campaign and much unselfish work, the committees succeeded in inducing the State Park Commission to operate and maintain the Lummis property "for the benefit and recreation of the public." It is now maintained by the Los Angeles County Park Department and is available to the public on special appointment only.

El Alisal stands today a memorial to the peculiar genius of an unconventional man. His talents and achievements are largely unrecognized by *Angelenos* today though they are indebted to him more than they suspect. They would be surprised to learn that the King of Spain knighted him for his work of interpreting Spain's contribution to American culture. They will be surprised, too, when they visit *El Alisal* for most of them have been unaware that such a unique, interesting and highly significant building is being maintained by their taxes and for their enlightenment and enjoyment. This fine building is a jewel in the crown of *La Reina*. It is a fireproof, (except for the temporary room) weatherproof and earthquake proof jewel.

El Alsial was never finished as is indicated by the piles of boulders on the property. These were to be converted into still more rooms. The roof is not tiled for Lummis never reached the stage where he could make the tiles he intended to use. The irongrill work which he planned to handforge was never begun, nor did he ever get to the task of building a ninety-foot Roman arched cloister on the front of the building. But wherever one looks he may see that Lummis followed his dictum that *a man should put himself into the building of a home*.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Literally as well as figuratively, this is what Lummis accomplished. Now the ashes of the genius that was Lummis are incased within the walls of the building upon which he labored so many years. They lie beyond a simple bronze plate near the main door. Upon his plate is inscribed the following:

He founded the Southwest Museum.

He built this house.

He saved four missions.

He studied and recorded Spain in America.

He tried to do his share.



Madame Modjeska in California

By Maymie R. Krythe



ADAME HELENA MODJESKA, the well-known Polish actress, noted also for her "unostentatious and agreeable" personality, began her successful American career here in California. For the last three decades of her life, she spent as much time as possible in the state she loved so well, and died, in 1909, at Newport, in Southern California.

There are several reminders of her life here: a street in Los Angeles is named for her; in the City Park at Anaheim is her statue as *Mary Stuart*; and her first home in that community is preserved as a historic shrine. At Santa Ana in the interesting Bowers Museum there is a case containing some of her personal belongings, including a costume she wore as the ill-fated Queen of the Scots. Also her home — *The Forest of Arden* — in Modjeska Canyon, about twenty miles from Santa Ana, is still standing, the private property of the Walker family of Long Beach.

Modjeska's life is of interest, not only because of her ability as an actress, but because of her outstanding personality and love for humanity. By many critics she is considered the world's greatest tragedienne; and her career shows what can be accomplished despite poverty and discouragement. At the close of her spectacular career, she wrote: "The road I have traveled was not an easy one; the obstacles were numerous and difficult . . . but I was amply rewarded."

Born in 1840, she spent her first twenty-six years in Poland. Her father, a teacher, passionately fond of music, died while Helena was quite young; and his family suffered from cold and hunger. When Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria, Cracow was bombarded; and many of Modjeska's countrymen were killed.

Helena, a serious, sensitive child, was fascinated by the stage and encouraged by her half-brother, an actor, Felix Benda, to prepare for it. But, at her first audition, she was crushed when the actress in charge told her she had no talent. However, a family friend, much older than she, Gustave Modrejewski, insisted that she would make a great actress. Soon they were married, and her son, Ralph, was born in 1861. Life was not easy for them financially, and she worked hard with a traveling stock company. By this time Modjeska knew she "must become an actress or die." After the death of her little daughter, she and her husband were divorced. Her first real success came at the theater in Cracow, where she played almost sixty parts her first year there.

In 1868 Modjeska married Count Karol Bozenta Chlapowski, who was editor of a liberal newspaper. When she was asked to play in Warsaw, many actors there tried to keep her from playing leads; the press, too, spoke of "the arrogance of provincial actresses." But when she made a magnificent success in *Audrienne Lecouvreur*, the Imperial Theater in 1869 gave her a life contract.

Modjeska's home in Warsaw was a favorite social center, where many celebrities enjoyed their hospitality. By 1875 Modjeska was the leading actress of Poland, but was much hampered by the tense political situation; also her plays were often slashed almost to pieces by the censors. She thought of leaving the stage because of the unhappy conditions in her beloved country. Finally, an attack of typhoid, and the death of Felix Benda, left her in such a weakened condition that the Count decided she must have a rest and change of scene.

With several friends, they decided to visit the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, then go to California and perhaps settle here permanently. The party included Henryk Sienkiewicz (who later wrote *Quo Vadis*). They planned to go to Anaheim, in Southern California, which had been settled by Germans. For most of these Poles could speak German but not English. In making their preparations for the trip, Modjeska wrote: "How happy we were! Visions of freedom, peace and happiness filled our brains!"

The colonists visited New York and Philadelphia, and arrived on the West Coast via the Isthmus of Panama. At first they lived

Madame Modjeska in California

in a small rented house in Anaheim (then on the site of the present high school). Modjeska and the servant, Anusia, did the cooking, which wasn't too successful, as everyone wanted different things to eat.

When Count Bozenta (who was financing the project) bought an orange ranch, just east of town, the colonists worked at first with enthusiasm, but soon began to complain of blisters and backaches. They were more accustomed to playing the piano, drawing or writing than to doing manual labor. Only one of them had had any experience in farming; and, of course, conditions were much different here in the new environment.

The people of Anaheim liked the newcomers, and spoke of Madame Modjeska as a "charming, handsome woman, with a melodious voice." But one contemporary said that after these Poles had planted their crops, they expected to sit on the porch or lie in hammocks while things grew. The colonists had hoped to keep up their old world culture, by reading and music; but the two ways of life didn't mix. Everything they raised cost twice as much as if they had bought it; and when the Count had spent nearly all of his capital (about \$15,000) things became critical. Finally he and his wife decided it was foolish for people of their type to try to do work for which they were unfitted; and the Count told the others he would sell the ranch and pay their expenses back to Poland.

During their few months' stay in California, in spite of their financial losses, Modjeska had recovered her health and spirits. She then made an important decision — to go back to the stage. This wasn't easy; for she was now 37 years old; no one knew of her ability as an actress; and worst of all, she couldn't speak the English language. But her Polish friends were delighted and encouraged her; for they felt it was a shame that her great talent was being wasted. By selling some jewelry and family silverware, Modjeska raised enough cash for a six-month stay in San Francisco, where she went early in 1877. While the Count stayed in Anaheim to try to sell the ranch, he was so in need of money that it is said that for a time he worked at the Fashion Livery Stable in Los Angeles.

In San Francisco, the actress was warmly welcomed by the Polish colony, and luckily met a charming girl, Jo Tuholsky, who

spoke English well, as she had come to America at the age of four. Her "Dear Jo," as Modjeska called her, refused to take money for her services as a teacher. Each day she arrived early and stayed late; during this time she compelled her pupil to speak English only. They went for walks, attended the theater together, and the actress did pages of exercises and learned about one hundred new words each day.

Also she read the play, *Audrienne Lecouvreur* (in which she had made such a success abroad) in English, while Jo corrected her pronunciation. She soon memorized the entire drama in the new language — a remarkable achievement — and also learned parts of the roles of Juliet and Cleopatra. Jo helped to keep up Modjeska's spirits, too, by assuring her of success when she did return to the stage.

Through the help of her Polish friends, and the governor of California, she finally got an interview with Barton Hill, head of the California Theater in San Francisco. At first he addressed her in French and tried to discourage her. But when Hill heard her give the last act of *Audrienne Lecouvreur*, he succumbed with tears in his eyes, and said she could play with the great American actor, John McCullough.

Modjeska had only a week to prepare for her debut, and she was much impressed by McCullough's acting. After her first performance, she sent her husband a telegram with the one word, "Victory!" She had been surprised that she wasn't at all nervous that first night of playing in English for the first time. She walked calmly on the stage and didn't forget a line, as she was so thrilled to be acting again.

Everyone, including the Governor, went to her dressing room to congratulate her. During her second week, when she played Juliet, she was hailed as a great success; at once she was invited to the best homes in the city. "Evidently Audrienne and Juliet made me fashionable," she commented.

It was McCullough who suggested she shorten her name from "Modrejewski" to Modjeska. When he asked her to play Ophelia opposite him in his benefit — *Hamlet* — she was afraid she

Madame Modjeska in California

couldn't learn the English role in such a short time. So she played it in Polish while the rest of the company used English.

At once several agents sought her out; and she chose Harry Sargent. He arranged an eastern tour for her — in December 1877, and early in January, 1878 — at \$1,000 a week and expenses. Before leaving, Modjeska made a short tour through Northern California and Nevada. At her opening in Virginia City, in *Camille*, she was much impressed by "the manly appearance and excellent behaviour of the miners, who together with cowboys constituted the vast majority of that picturesque and interesting assembly."

This was not a financial success, but it gave her more confidence in the new language. In the *Virginia City Chronicle*, one miner, in "*The Loquacious Comstocker's Tribute to Modjeska*," compared her to other actresses he had seen:

You don't see Modjeska puttin' on any frills . . . If a call boy or supe goes to her room on any errand, he gets treated as well as the manager would. And she goes round like she was a stranger in town, instead of a woman who thought she owned it. Why? 'Cause she's a lady from the ground up . . . Look at her acting. Why it just walks into a man's soul without knocking and takes possession of the whole ground floor. First time I see her fall down by the fireplace it paralyzed me. Blast me if I'd felt so since my old mother died. I wanted to cry the worst kind, but I didn't 'cause there was a cove watchin' me. But I found he wasn't because he was busy crying' too . . . (Quoted in the *San Francisco Herald*, October 28, 1877.)

When Modjeska first appeared in New York, in *Audrienne Lecouvreur*, she was so excited she carried her shoehorn on the stage, instead of her fan. She was an immediate success, and her audiences were thrilled by her performances. It is said that during one production of *Camille*, even the prompter was in tears. Finally he threw away the book and went to a dark corner of the stage to cry over the sad fate of the heroine.

In New York she was made very happy by the arrival of her husband, who had succeeded in selling the ranch at Anaheim. All the members of the group went back to Poland except Lucien Paprocki, who stayed in the United States and was successful as a cartoonist.

Wherever Modjeska played, she was well received, and met

many celebrities. In Boston she was delighted to have lunch with the poet, Longfellow. Eugene Field, when she played in St. Louis, put on an amusing dinner party for her; he had coffee and ice cream served as the first course, and the meal ended with soup and oysters. That summer — 1878 — Modjeska went to Europe, met Sir Henry Irving, and saw Sarah Bernhardt perform. Upon her return to the United States, Modjeska traveled in a private car on a thirty-week's tour. By this time she had added several new plays, including *Frou-Frou* to her repertoire.

In one of her early engagements, she had to play the lead in *East Lynne* (which she hated and called "*Beast Lynne*") to suit the theatrical tastes of Saturday evening audiences. But in the main, she enjoyed all her roles, which included Audrienne, Juliet, Lady Macbeth, Portia, Ophelia, Viola, Cleopatra, Mary Stuart, Magda, Frou-Frou, and Marie Antoinette. She appeared with some of the greatest actors of the period — Forbes Robertson, Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, Maurice Barrymore (who wrote a play for her, *Nadjeska*, in which she played in 1886 at the *Baldwin* in San Francisco), Otis Skinner, and Louis James. Modjeska always felt more at home in her Shakespearan roles, but added new plays to satisfy her audiences.

The story of her career from 1877 to 1907, when she retired at the age of 67, was one triumph after another. In Cracow she was asked to perform to honor a great Polish poet; this was quite an ordeal as she hadn't played in her native tongue for some years. In England after visiting at the home of Tennyson, she made her debut in London. Because of the censorship there, *Camille* could not be staged. However some changes were made in the script, and the title changed to *Heartsease*. Modjeska made her first British appearance in it and was such a hit that the Prince of Wales came to her dressing room to congratulate her on her outstanding performance. Next season, when the same play was given under the name, *La Dame Aux Camelias*, Sarah Bernhardt saw Modjeska play in it, and sent her flowers and congratulations. In London, the Polish actress was the toast of the town and invited to many distinctive social affairs.

In 1893 when Modjeska was asked to speak at the World's

Madame Modjeska in California

Fair in Chicago, on the subject of Polish women, her remarks were reported in Europe, and were resented by the Russians. When she next visited her native land, she wasn't allowed to appear on the stage in Russian Poland. Also an engagement in St. Petersburg was canceled, and she was forbidden to enter that country. Her husband declared that she was an American citizen, as he was naturalized, that she had a right to speak frankly and truly, but it was all of no avail.

During the years when the actress was making transcontinental tours, with frequent journeys to Europe, she and Count Bzenta always hurried back to California to spend as much of their leisure time here as possible between engagements. At first they had thought of spending their last days in Poland; but they enjoyed living here, especially as her son, Ralph and his family, and several nephews had made their homes in the United States.

In 1881 Modjeska and her husband had made a trip to Santiago Canyon in the Santa Ana Mountains, and they had been charmed by the locality. So they bought 300 acres, located about 23 miles from the town of Santa Ana; and found their home here "a peaceful retreat, far from the turmoil of the world."

Back of the house is a steep hill, called Flores Peak; this had been the locale of an exciting bit of California history back in 1857. A very clever bandit, named Juan Flores, and his band had killed sheriff Barton and several aides. When some of the desperadoes were caught and hanged at El Monte, Flores escaped, and was chased into Santiago Canyon. After forcing his horse up the steep slope, Flores expected to go down the other side and escape. But when he found it was a steep precipice, he forced his horse over the cliff, and boldly faced his pursuers. Then General Andres Pico and his men took the bandit as a prisoner to Los Angeles and saw him hanged on old Fort Hill.

The rather wild and rugged surroundings of their new home enthralled Modjeska; for, to her, "The whole picture looked more like fantastic stage scenery than a real thing, and looking at it my imagination carried me far, far beyond the hills, back to the footlights again." For there were magnificent live oaks, hung with wild grapevines; in a green meadow flowed a limpid brook, and

"the whole place was so beautiful it excited our greatest admiration." Modjeska named their home the "Forest of Arden," since like the one described by Shakespeare, it contained "oak trees, running brooks, palms, snakes, and even lions — of course, California lions — really pumas."

It was always a joy for them to return to this mountain retreat. On their way to, or from it, the actress and her husband often stopped to renew friendships in Los Angeles. The Angelenos really felt that Modjeska belonged to them; and many social events were given in her honor; one very notable one took place at the O. W. Child's home at Main and Eleventh. The *Los Angeles Times*, in 1883, stated that some very distinguished visitors were stopping at the Pico Hotel (still standing on Main Street, facing the Plaza) — Madame Modjeska, her son, and Count Karol Bozenta — before going on to their summer home in Santiago Canyon.

This building is a rambling structure, built in the style of an East Indian bungalow, and contains 12 rooms. "Of modest design, but in harmony with its surroundings," the home was planned for them by the famous New York architect, Stanford White. The interior of this charming country home had a fireplace in each room; Modjeska and her husband used the large living room as a combined studio, library, and music room.

Their bookshelves were filled with volumes in Polish, French, German, and English, many autographed by the authors. An organ, a grand piano, easy chairs, and couches completed the furnishings. Above the large fireplace of medieval design, they hung a mounted buffalo head given them by their friend, Judge Egan, of San Juan Capistrano. On the walls were several masterpieces in oil, including a portrait of Modjeska, done by the well-known French artist, Bastien-Lepage.

Near the house, which was thickly screened by trees and vines, was a cottage for the caretaker, who looked after the estate in their absence. Modjeska and the Count had a rose garden on the front lawn, and enjoyed working in it. Ferns, a lily pond, and an old-fashioned well with "an old oaken bucket" added to the beauty of the surroundings, while hammocks and comfortable seats invited guests to rest awhile. The family often enjoyed outdoor meals

Madame Modjeska in California

here together, or had picnic dinners for friends. The actress and her husband led a happy, but simple home life here. It is said that Modjeska was "a perfect wife," who never showed any irritation, no matter what happened.

The "Forest of Arden" was not easy to get to, but in spite of this, many friends, including such celebrities as Paderewski and Sienkiewicz, visited here. An "unusual" bit of California weather greeted the pianist and his wife when they arrived for a visit one December. As the days had been mild and clear, Count Bozenta drove in a half-open carriage to the Santa Ana railway station to meet them. On the return trip, it began to rain; and by the time they reached Arden, all were chilled through.

During this stay Paderewski told the actress and her husband that they should not live so far from civilization, but should mingle more with the outside world. Finally much as they loved Arden, they decided to move where they could enjoy the invigorating ocean breezes. In 1907 they bought a home on an island in Newport Bay, California, connected to the mainland by a bridge. From their home they also had a view of the mountains.

While Modjeska was making her transcontinental acting tours, she appeared frequently at various Los Angeles theaters. She first performed in the city in 1886, at *Child's Grand Opera House*. This was built in 1884 by O. W. Child's; and its opening was a really gala event for Los Angeles society. The building stood on North Main, near First. (It was torn down in 1936; a copper plate in the sidewalk marks the spot.) Modjeska, supported by the famous actor, Maurice Barrymore, played here for a week in 1886. They appeared in *As You Like It*, *Audrienne Lecouvreur*, *Mary Stuart*, *Camille*, and *Twelfth Night*. Three years later, when she again played at the *Grand*, she added *Cymbeline* to her usual repertoire.

When she and Otis Skinner played at the same theatre in April 1894, they presented *MacBeth*, and a modern drama, *Magda*, in addition to other favorites. The press commented about the latter play:

Madame Modjeska's acting is mercilessly realistic in *Magda*, the English version of Hermann Sudermann's *Heimath*. As introduced by Madame Modjeska, it contains a powerful lesson, with its peculiar treat-

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ment of the question involved in the breaking of the fifth and seventh commandments.

That same year in June, the actress while staying at her summer home played the lead in *As You Like It*, supported by the *Grand Opera House Stock Company*.

In the fall of 1888 another new theatre was opened in town, called the *Los Angeles Theatre*. (It was located on Spring Street between Second and Third Streets). In February 1897, Madam Modjeska with a new leading man, Joseph Haworth, performed at the new house. That summer, after she recovered from an illness, she helped dedicate a new theatre in Santa Ana, the *Santa Ana Opera House*, with a production of *Mary Stuart*. In this she played the lead, with Gertrude Foster of Los Angeles as Queen Elizabeth. The rest of the cast was made up of "society amateurs."

That same year (1897) Modjeska appeared at the *Burbank* (completed in 1893 and still standing on Main Street near Sixth); and on July 7, 1897, the manager of the *Burbank*, John C. Fisher, presented his stock company, headed by Modjeska, in a long remembered outdoor performance of *As You Like It*. This was given in the spacious garden of O. W. Child's home, as a "Grand Red Cross Benefit."

With a new leading man, John F. Kellerd, the actress played at the *Los Angeles* in September, 1899, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Marie Antoinette*, both dramas in which the Angelenos had not seen her perform before.

A magnificent audience faced Madame Modjeska and her excellent company . . . at the *Los Angeles Theatre* last evening . . . Of Modjeska's interpretation of the role of Marie Antoinette there can be but one opinion. Her reputation in the drama world is so well defined and established that it is a guaranty that whatever role she essays will be treated with care, with artistic fidelity to the highest and best ideals, with forcefulness and technical skill.

Her portrayal of Queen Marie Antoinette is a powerful though very tearful piece of dramatic characterization. It has strength and fire as well as tender, but the tender predominates.

In 1902, on her regular tour, Modjeska played at the *Los Angeles Theatre* with the eminent actor, Louis James, in several older

Madame Modjeska in California

roles, giving also *The Merchant of Venice* and *Henry VIII*. The latter was seen by "an immense audience," which "while not enthusiastic was appreciative." The *Herald* declared, "Not since the advent of *Floradora* has such a fashionable audience packed the house.

"As the wronged Queen Katherine, Madame Modjeska realized fully the possibilities of the role . . . The final scene of her death was rendered with the consistent skill of an artist."

The actress also played in 1905 and 1906 at the *Mason*, still standing on North Broadway; and in April, 1905, she was called to New York by Daniel Frohman who gave a benefit in her honor. At this special performance of *MacBeth* many famous players took part, and she received a great ovation. She was asked to make other tours; and she continued these until 1907.

Her last appearance in Los Angeles was at the *Grand* where she had played years before. The house was filled to overflowing; tremendous applause welcomed her "home" and warmed her heart. From the boxes several young girls threw bouquets of flowers that almost filled the stage. Attorney Joseph Scott praised her success in overcoming many obstacles, and spoke of her excellent work on the stage, both here and in Europe, during her long career of more than forty years.

Once Modjeska spoke of the "many pangs her career had cost her," but she declared it was worth it. "My life became richer through the experiences I gained, through the many associations it was my good fortune to form; but the best reward of all was the artistic satisfaction, the joy that I found in the work itself," she commented. In addition to her work as an actress, she continually tried to prove to the world that her "unfortunate and much maligned nation, Poland, is still alive, and cannot be relegated to oblivion, as its civilization and art are undeniable tokens of its vitality."

When Helena Modjeska died in 1909, her body was taken back to Poland for burial; and at Cracow many honors were paid to her memory. Forty years after her death a group of her admirers in California, including Ethel Barrymore, Alan Mowbray, Joseph Scott and others met to honor her and to plan for a memorial to

her. At this time Ethel Barrymore declared that Modjeska's work on the stage was "perfection," adding:

She would be great today in the theatre — great in any day or time. There was never anything theatrical about her acting. It was simple, natural, and above all, beautiful.

It is not only for her great ability as an actress that Helena Modjeska is still remembered today by her many admirers; but she was an outstanding personality who always faced life and its problems calmly. Near the close of her life, when viewing the mountains and ocean from her last home, she wrote:


I feel calm and contented. The love for my dear ones fills my heart to the very brim, and though my thoughts are often visited by the images of the glorious moments of my stage life, yet no regret, no bitterness disturbs my mind, but gratitude for all I have received from God and man.

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Confederates in Southern California

By Helen B. Walters

ISTORY BOOKS imply that the pacific coast bore little part in the war opening in 1861. The role of California is dismissed with such bias and inaccurate remarks as: "At the outbreak of the war it seemed that she (California) was in danger of joining the South but she speedily espoused the Union cause . . ."¹ Or, "The Pacific Coast States of California and Oregon were so utterly beyond the range of military operation that filial love furnished the only pledge of abiding loyalty to the Union."²

This point of view was far from the facts. In Southern California, for instance, groups actually planned to join the Confederacy. Wrote General E. V. Sumner in his first report to Washington after arriving in California to take over the Department of the Pacific, "I have no doubt there is some deep scheming to draw California into the Secession movement . . . in the first place as the Republic of the Pacific, expecting afterwards to induce her to join the Southern Confederacy."³ The idea of "filial love" becomes whimsical in the light of a quotation from a letter to the Union Secretary of War, Cameron. This letter complained that most state officials of California were known Secessionists, and the rest hostile to Washington.⁴ That was the real position of California.

Despite the remoteness of California, both North and South determined to possess her. The reason was not sentimental. Said General U. S. Grant: "I do not know what we would do in this great national emergency were it not for the gold sent from California." And how much did California's mines produce? The *Los Angeles Star* of January 12, 1861, states, "the amount of treasure shipped from California during 1860 was \$42,287,839." Small wonder that North and South began dueling for the State.

Fully to understand the struggle for California, we must ex-

amine the ties binding the South and Southern California. The first man to stress the need for communication between these sections was Lieut. Edward F. Beale, who served in the conquest of California in 1846. Study of the Crimean War convinced him of the superiority of camels in arid regions. A freight camel could travel thirty miles a day carrying cargo up to a thousand pounds. Faster animals could travel a hundred miles a day. These, he felt, would solve the problem of the Arizona desert.

Lieut. Beale laid his plan before Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, who in turn took it to Congress with his recommendation. By 1858 governmental caravans were moving from California's Fort Tejon to Arizona and New Mexico carrying freight, messages and, more important, supplies for construction of a military road.

When this road was opened, Southern California was linked directly to the South. The San Antonio and San Diego Stage Company began regular service and despite high fares (\$80.00 from Tucson to San Diego) westward travel increased. Citizens from Southern States poured into the West. By 1858 two stages operated weekly between Los Angeles and the Missouri River. The Butterfield Overland Stage Company added new services to Memphis, St. Louis and Yuma. The romance of their Concord coaches, their 1,500 spirited horses and 1,000 interpid drivers form an exciting saga.

Related to the stage line was the mail service. At the close of the Pierce Administration, Congress awakened to the need of subsidizing mail routes. A mail line was costly, due not only to personnel and equipment, but also because of the necessity of maintaining fortified depots in Indian territory.

The Overland California Mail Act authorized the Postmaster-General to select a route and contract for transportation of mail between the Mississippi Valley and San Francisco. He chose a southern route and awarded the contract to the Butterfield Overland Stage Company. From terminals at St. Louis and Memphis, its itinerary crossed Arkansas, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona to Fort Yuma and thence to Los Angeles and San Francisco. Though

Confederates in Southern California

three weeks were required for mail to cover this distance it was a vast improvement over the four to six weeks required by steamship. Soon the Pony Express cut this time in half but also increased the hazards. Riders were often waylaid permanently or temporarily by bullets and arrows.

Besides the bonds of stage and mail between Southern California and the South there was the prospect of a railroad. The Gold Rush of '49 had speeded the clamor for action. While disputes raged concerning routes, engineers drew plans and promoters jingled money. Finally Congress authorized Secretary of War Davis to survey for a route. After two years of preparation Lieut. Beal's caravans began laying the roadbed. Later Beale's Road became Highway 66 and the Santa Fe laid tracks approximately along the original route.

By far the strongest bond between South and Southwest was blood. By 1861 the population of California was 400,000 of which "about three eighths were natives of slave-holding states."⁵ Ambitious sons of the South sought acreage on which to establish plantations similar to their fathers. The Mexican War had publicized California and many veterans, upon being mustered out, sent for their families. Others came for gold. These newcomers settled where they had friends or relatives. Thus Los Angeles became predominantly Southern. One of its suburban towns, El Monte, was settled by Democrats from Texas who became known as the "Monte Boys."

There was reason for Southerners liking Southern California. They found life there similar to "home." Both lands possessed pastoral contentment where time weighed lightly. Whereas they left an economic system based on plantations, they found one based on *ranchos*. They exchanged raising cotton for raising cattle. At "home" work was done by Negroes; in the West by Indians. In both places the natives were friendly, food abundant, money easy and opportunities awaiting.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Southern sympathizers in California. When General Sumner assumed command in the spring of '61 he wrote, "The Secession Party numbers

about 32,000 men.”⁶ He apparently counted only males able to bear arms excluding their families which would have doubtlessly doubled or tripled that figure.

As early as 1849 there was open talk of organizing the West Coast into a Pacific Republic. It will be recalled that the so-called California Chivalry Party recommended a separate administration for the Pacific States as a precaution in case the original federation of Atlantic states proved unwieldy. Talk of a rift in the Union was not adjudged disloyal or traitorous. In 1859, Andrew Moulder, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, openly urged the State Legislature to establish a Pacific University which, if the nation split, could be converted into a West Point for the Pacific.

Along with dissatisfaction over the national status was strife between the northern and southern parts of the State. The north, with San Francisco as its hub, had developed commerce and manufacturing and delighted in dubing the southern section “the cow counties.” Rancheros resented this and demanded legislation equally favorable to agriculture. But money and the balance of power clung to the northern half.

Southern California was also plagued by labor trouble. Indians formed the bulk of laborers and contrasted unfavorably with Negro slaves. Whereas Negroes as a race were happy and loyal, Indians were regarded as sullen and treacherous. The Indian was mentally dull, unaffected by religion, lazy, shiftless, addicted to drunkenness and willing to work for the price of a night’s debauché. Agricultural counties wanted Negro labor which was impossible against votes of northern counties. Thus grew the idea of dividing the State.

In 1859 Andrés Pico introduced into the California Legislature a bill authorizing an election to determine the status of southern counties. They could vote to remain with the north or to secede and form the Territory of Colorado.

Feelings ran high. Ballots were counted. By a two-thirds vote secession carried. Southern counties were free to set up their own

Confederates in Southern California

economic system favorable to *ranchos*, vineyards and citrus groves. The plan was rushed to Washington for endorsement.

While Southern California made plans for celebration history accelerated its pace and "separation" swept the South. Washington was plunged into confusion and Southern California's peaceful vote for withdrawal was forgotten.

Approximately ten days later the Pony Express brought news of the fall of Fort Sumter. In Southern California the war at once became a holy crusade. Northern sympathizers put up flags. Southern sympathizers, having no emblem, used the Bear Flag as evidence of their stand for States' Rights. In Los Angeles, the center of resistance, the Bella Union Hotel hung up a huge painting of General Beauregard.

State newspapers took sides. The *Los Angeles Star* boldly placed responsibility for the war on Lincoln. Atrocity tales grow. Union men were pictured as fiends who schemed to ruin the South and who indulged in such pastimes as rape and "tar and feathering." On the other hand, Southerners became monsters with invisible hoof and tail who also enjoyed "tarring parties" and who incited Indians to harvest Union scalps.

Small communities declared their fealties and intimidated dissenters. San Bernardino became a center of Secessionists. Bear and Holcomb Valleys established Southern enlistment camps where volunteers were organized, equipped and marched to the Confederacy. El Monte opened a training camp for Southern recruits where drilling was carried on in an open field not ten miles from Los Angeles. So quick on the trigger were the "Monte Boys" under their Bear Flag that Union authorities preferred to look the other way and live.

Schools were disrupted. When it was discovered that most teachers were Secession sympathizers, Federal authorities demanded an oath of loyalty. Many teachers refused and fled to the South. Those remaining found themselves in the embarrassing position of having no pupils. Southerners refused to have their children taught by Union teachers.

Courts were plunged into confusion and dockets cluttered with cases against citizens accused of loyalty to the South. Local authorities resorted to the practice of hailing disloyal persons into court and forcing them to take the oath of allegiance to the Union. Lawyers indulged in vigorous defense and demurs; judges of Secessionist sentiment delayed sentence. In desperation came forth an order requiring the oath from all persons using the courts.

Passing weeks sharpened lines of fealty. Stores suffered. Southern sympathizers boycotted Union shopkeepers and vice versa. Churches divided, ministers praying for each president and his army. Pulpits were draped to denote the sentiment of the congregation. Sunday School children wore buttons to proclaim their loyalty.

Los Angeles became the hub of Secession sentiment. In April 1861 wrote General Sumner: "I have found it necessary to withdraw troops from Fort Mojave and place them at Los Angeles. There is more danger of dissatisfaction at that place than any other in the State."⁷ Two companies of dragoons were sent to curb San Bernardino's cavalry who habitually cheered for President Davis. From Fort Tejon Lieut. Carr requested reinforcements against the Indians who, he claimed, were being incited to rise against the Union. San Diego begged for guns and ammunition. Santa Barbara wanted troops to put down local Secessionists. Fort Yuma needed men to check a Confederate force reported advancing from Texas. Since Yuma was the gateway to Southern California the General sent scouts to investigate. When they reported that troops commanded by Confederate General Silby were pushing toward the Colorado River, he rushed two companies of infantry.

Then the War Department at Washington beckoned the regular Army from California and General Sumner found himself with the problem of recruiting men to defend the State. Baffled, he wrote the War Department: "It is very difficult thing to raise volunteers in a State where there is a strong party opposed to the Government."⁸

By September 1861, Southern California seemed so near the

Confederates in Southern California

Confederacy that General Sumner wrote: "Dissatisfaction in the southern part of the State is increasing and becoming dangerous and it is necessary to throw reinforcement into that section immediately. The rebels are organizing, collecting supplies and evidently preparing to receive a force from Texas."⁹ His fears were justified because the previous July the Confederacy had authorized an expedition from Texas to conquer New Mexico and Arizona. Texas lost no time getting into saddles and on the march.

Not only was General Sumner distraught over the pleas for aid but he was rendered almost helpless by disruption of his army personnel. Within two months after Lincoln's inauguration a third (some books state a half) of the officers of the Sixth California Regiment resigned to take positions in the Confederate Army. Their exodus not merely stranded the rank and file of Union troops but cast a doubt on the loyalty of remaining officers. One such was Capt. W. S. Hancock, a promising young officer with a southern wife. Sent to Los Angeles by Washington to protect Federal property his allegiance was sought by both sides. The North based its claim on his military training and record; the South pushed its claim through his wife. Confederate arguments were even presented by Albert Sidney Johnston (later a Confederate General) who was in Los Angeles secretly recruiting Southern volunteers. It was reported that Richmond proffered the Captain the rank of Major General but to no avail.

Although California Secessionists were contemptuously dubbed "rebels" they were far from being an ignorant and penniless fringe of society. They were citizens of ability and respectability as revealed by a letter to General Sumner from a group of San Francisco businessmen: "A vast majority of our present State officials are avowed Secessionists . . . Every appointment made by our governor within the last three months indicates his entire sympathy and cooperation with those plotting to sever California from her allegiance to the Union."¹⁰

The Governor had allies in his pro-Southern sympathy. Assemblyman Morrison of Los Angeles spoke in the Legislature "in favor of letting rebellious States take their own course." Another

assemblyman proclaimed that 30,000 California men were ready to defend Secession if the Government attempted to enforce Federal laws. Representative Kungle of Yorba offered a speech defending slavery. These men spoke not from the shadows of society but from the spotlight. They were sufficiently confident of public approval to defy Federal authority.

It was natural that citizens of definite sentiment organize. One strong group was the Methodist Church South. Said Bancroft in his *History of California*, "The Methodist Church South formed a factor in anti-war, anti-administration and pro-slavery."¹¹

Small communities organized secret societies to secure confederate volunteers, equip and train them. At Oroville a company of two hundred was raised ostensibly to join the Union. By a ruse the North was tricked into defraying their cost. Then the men marched off to the Confederate Army. Many schemes were used to raise money for equipment. If barbecues and jollifications did not succeed a shotgun did. Bullion being transported by stagecoach was deemed a donation beyond resistance. In one instance the robbers sent Wells Fargo Company a receipt for their loot plus a note of thanks for the Confederate contribution.

Besides small subversive groups there were three large secret societies. The aims of the Committee of Thirty, the Knights of the Golden Circle and Knights of the Columbian Star were approximately identical. All strove to cripple support of the Union. Their success was largely due to the demoralizing fear they engendered by oath, grip, password, and surreptitious sign of recognition. They operated like a modern propaganda machine. By whispering campaign they discouraged enlistment in the "lost" Union cause, they fomented distrust in Union officers. They praised Union dissention. So effective was their work that whole communities stood solid for the South. In Los Angeles one Charlie Jenkins had to ride to San Francisco before he dared enlist in the Union Army.

Knights of both the Golden Circle and Columbian Star kept firearms and ammunition for a so-called hunting trip of several days duration. It was known that they planned to seize Federal

Confederates in Southern California

offices and equipment as soon as a Confederate force crossed the State's border. Eagerly they watched the Yuma gateway. Despite the Union threat that "any man who put his feet into a Golden Circle would put his head in a hempen one" membership in the Knights increased. By August '61 there were reputed to be 20,000 Knights of the Golden Circle. Hunt in his *New California the Golden* asserts that by the end of the war the combined membership of Knights was around 50,000.

Secessionists used other ways to hamper the Union cause. They refused to accept U. S. legal tender. California's Legislature even nullified the Federal Legal Tender Act by passing a "specific contract act" permitting parties to specify the type of money involved. Although Attorney-General Pixley condemned as traitors those who refused to accept greenbacks at face value Californians continued to discount them according to battle reports. With each Confederate victory they fell until in 1863 they reached the low of thirty-five cents.

Southern sympathizers waged more than a negative warfare. They organized guerrilla bands to operate on land and sea. In 1856 the Declaration of Paris had abolished privateering by signature of all major nations except the U. S. So, when President Davis announced that he would issue letters of marque and reprisal to vessels willing to privateer, the Union shuddered and geared for trouble. When came the rumor that a privateering ship was being equipped in China, Union prowls turned in that direction. Then came similar rumors from San Diego, Los Angeles, Manila, South America, Canada. The western fleet was distraught.

Responding to a report of mysterious activity on Santa Catalina Island off Los Angeles, the Union Navy found a strange assortment of machinery labelled gold mining equipment. Already jittery it was easy for the officers to believe local rumors that the mining tale was a cloak to cover Confederate privateering. Much as the Federal Government needed the gold the military men dared not risk privateering so laborers and machinery were removed to the mainland. To make the clean-up permanent a Union camp, The Isthmus, was established on the island.

As rumors assailed the fleet, General Sumner issued an edict to end all privateering. "Any vessel sailing under the Secessionist flag, so-called, which shall enter or attempt to enter any of the waters of the U. S. on this coast will be immediately captured by troops stationed there. Any such vessel which shall fail to come to or surrender on being duly warned, or which shall attempt to escape will be fired into and sunk if necessary."¹²

Soon a new problem arose. American sympathy with Mexicans in their fight against Maximillian prompted contributions of arms and ammunitions. These were loaded on clipper ships and sent to Mexico. Then came the reports that the ships did not arrive. Not until the seizure of the clipper *J. W. Chapman* did the mystery clear. The vessel was part of a scheme to capture a coastwise steamer, outfit and use her to capture others thus build up a fleet of privateers designed to waylay gold marked for Washington.

Though the scheme failed its results were far reaching. Union steamers bearing cargo that might have aided the Confederacy refused to put to sea. Insurance rates mounted to a prohibitive peak. In desperation Washington ordered all gold shipments suspended.

Southern guerrillas went after California gold from another angle. Wagonloads of ore or metal coming from mines were strangely bogged down or detoured or vanished entirely. This resulted in Union officers setting up an elaborate and costly guard system.

These guards had to be quartered in camps. At Drum Barracks in San Pedro (now Wilmington) the Federal Government spent \$1,000,000 for equipment. There was also Camp Latham in Baldwin Hills which had the assignment to prevent a Confederate landing on Ballona Creek. These were only two of many.

Guerrilla bands had a spy system which informed them of gold shipments. Despite the fact that stages carried armed guards a volley from ambush often transferred the bullion to Confederate destination.

Guerrillas fully comprehended the demoralizing effect upon

Confederates in Southern California

an enemy of having his communications disrupted. They incited Indians of Arizona to prey upon mail routes. Pony Express riders and stages accordingly fell. However, the Indians failed to note the distinction between Northern and Southern riders. Apaches almost completely halted mail service.

Without doubt many guerrillas were plain highwaymen but most of them were motivated by patriotism with nothing to gain and everything to lose. Each guerrilla bore the cost of his horse, weapon, ammunition and possible surgical fees. His risk was great and his only reward the satisfaction of serving a Cause dear to his heart.

Union men detailed to oppose the guerrillas were enlisted as California Volunteers and garrisoned in the camps previously mentioned. Their main operations were in Los Angeles. It was common to see Union sentinels pacing verandas of hotels where Southerners congregated. One such hotel was the Bella Union and, for a time, the United States Hotel. Union soldiers were forbidden to enter these portals when off duty.

The California Volunteers resented their constant guard duty. They found no glory in pacing a hotel veranda to an obligation of insults. Nor were they insensible to local hatred which was so intense that soldiers dared not saunter about town singly and at night not even in pairs. They were well aware of the armed status of the citizenry for by 1860 all men boldly wore weapons of some sort.

Southern California's contribution to the Confederacy was not entirely obstructionist work. The State contributed men. There is no complete record of rank and file soldiers who joined the Confederate Army because enlistments were secret. Secret centers formed volunteers into troops, equipped them and sent them South destroying all records as a safety precaution. Bolder towns openly drilled recruits and escorted them South. Many *ranchos* equipped small bands without bothering to report their number. In Los Angeles County alone well over 250 men were known to have joined the Confederate Army. Fort Yuma reported groups

varying in size from twelve to 185 passing through enroute to Texas. Then fell the order that all Confederate reinforcements attempting to cross the Colorado River should be interned. Thereafter Southern recruits moved at night and in disguise.

Aside from enlisted personnel southern California supplied many officers. With Albert Sidney Johnston went ranking men from dragoon and infantry. Between one third and one half of the officers of the Sixth California Regiment resigned to accept Confederate positions. When General Winfield Scott was asked where he expected to find generals for the Union Army he replied, "That is our great problem. Unfortunately for us the South has taken most of the higher officers."¹³

California contributed three generals and a diplomat. Joseph Lancaster Brent, authority on land titles, sailed in '61 to offer his services to President Davis. By accident, on the same steamer, was General Sumner with his staff; and also Senator Gwin. Mutual allegiance to the South drew Brent and Gwin together. General Sumner became suspicious and ordered both arrested. However, the two men dumped overboard their documents and deprived the Union of evidence. Accordingly both men were eventually released. Brent joined the Southern Army and rose to be Brigadier General.

Washington made an effort to hold Senator Gwin by offering him the rank of Major General. Though a similar offer came from President Davis, Gwin preferred diplomatic service. He accepted an appointment to represent the South in Europe, where he almost gained French recognition for the Confederate States.

Colonel John Bankhead Magruder was a popular military idol in Southern California who had earned the titles of "Galoping Magruder" and "Prince John." He cast his lot with the South and was given the rating of Major General.

California's most famous contribution was Albert Sidney Johnston. Commander of the Department of the Pacific at the outbreak of war he was torn between two loyalties, one of blood and one of duty. Though history records no overt act of disloyalty rumors bombarded Washington. When General Sumner was

Confederates in Southern California

ordered to the coast, General Johnston resigned and returned to his home in Los Angeles.

In Southern California, Johnston recruited for the South. Finally with fanfare he led a troop of men from town. Though Fort Yuma had been alerted to trap him he maneuvered them safely to Richmond. Recognizing his ability, President Davis promoted him to Department Commander.

No other section of the country — not the acknowledged territory of the North or of the South — was more keenly coveted than was California. In the Southland, the struggle though but a miniature reflection of the deadly contest being waged between the States, was intense and extremely bitter.

NOTES :

1. Rhodes, *History of U. S.* Vol 5, PP 255, 256.
2. Schouler, *History of U. S.* Vol 6, p 90.
3. Kennedy, *Contest for California in 1861*, p 210.
4. *Ibid.*, p 218.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Rebellion Records*, Series 1, Vol L, Part 1, p 363.
7. California Adjutant-General's Office 1861-1867, p 16.
8. *Ibid.*, p 24.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Kennedy, *Contest for California in 1861*, p 218.
11. Vol 7., 309.
12. California Adjutant-General's Office 1861-1867, p 16.
13. Foster, *Abraham Lincoln's World*, p 291.

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From Boulder to the Gulf


By Margaret Romer, M. A.

(Continued from the December QUARTERLY)

PART V

CHAPTER XIV

MORMONS, STEAMBOATS AND CAMELS

 IN THE HEART OF THE DESERT in the northwest corner of our region, lay the charming oasis known as Las Vegas, The Meadows. A patch of luscious grass perhaps half-a-mile wide and two or three miles long, was watered by a clear stream fed by two large and constant springs.

To this beauty spot the Mormon church sent a colony of thirty in the spring of 1855. Under the leadership of William Bringham, they left Salt Lake on the 10th of May, arriving at Las Vegas on June 14 and 15 after an uneventful march.¹⁸¹

Immediately upon their arrival at the oasis, the colonists began construction work on their future town. An *adobe* fort was built, and a wall fourteen feet high of the same material was constructed, surrounding an enclosure 150 feet square. Irrigation ditches carried the water of the stream to the fifteen five-acre farm lots that were parcelled out to the settlers. Then the homes were built.

Exploring the vicinity of their oasis, the Mormons soon found the shortest and best way to the Colorado River, but were disappointed at seeing no steamboats on its waters. They had heard of the steamboats on the lower reaches of the stream and dreamed of an agricultural community at Las Vegas with an outlet for their products by way of river boats down the Colorado.

Instead of steamboats, the exploring party found some fifty Indians on the river bank in a state of nudity except for breech-cloths. But the natives were very friendly.¹⁸²

Shortly after the establishment of the colony at Las Vegas, all the Indian chiefs of the vicinity were assembled, and an agreement was made with them for permission to use the land, as well as a mutual agreement to maintain peace.¹⁸³

For the first two years, the little colony at Las Vegas fared very well. Then came the call from the mother church at Salt Lake summoning large numbers of her people back home. More than half the Las Vegas settlers responded to this call. Those remaining, struggled on for another year, but so few were left that they found it almost impossible to carry on. Gathering up their equipment, they abandoned their new home "for the time being" on September 26, 1858, and they, too, returned to Salt Lake. So ended the Mormon settlement at Las Vegas.¹⁸⁴

Soon thereafter, O. D. Gass acquired the land and water rights to the oasis and advertised the place for sale as a ranch.

Southern Nevada, as well as Arizona, was then regarded as a part of New Mexico.

And now Uncle Sam ordered a survey of the Colorado River as a guide for navigators; and especially to determine the head of navigation. The task was assigned to Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives who began his river exploring expedition in December of 1857.

Ives brought the material from which to construct his boat, to the mouth of the river, and there the *Explorer* was built. She was fifty-four feet over all, not quite half the length of Captain George A. Johnson's *Colorado*. The bow was decked, and the engine was placed amidship which was open. A seven by eight-foot cabin was built at the stern, the top of which served as a lookout.

While Lieutenant Ives was still in preparation for his trip, Captain Johnson in the *General Jessup* went up from Yuma to a point in the Mojave Valley to ferry Lieutenant Beale across the river on his return from a trip to California. Before meeting Beale, Captain Johnson went on up to the head of Black Canyon near the site of Hoover Dam, only a few weeks before Lieutenant Ives reached the spot, thus robbing the Lieutenant of the honor of being the first to reach the head of navigation. Yet it was Ives who made the first careful survey and map of the river to this point.¹⁸⁵

From Boulder to the Gulf

Lieutenant Ives gives an accurate description of his voyage in his report of the Colorado River of the West. Fort Yuma, he says, was on the California bank of the river on a gravelly spur that extended with a steep bluff to the edge of the stream. A corresponding precipice was on the opposite side. These spurs formed a natural gateway, comparatively narrow, through which the river flowed just below the junction of the Gila.¹⁸⁶

Describing the great Mojave Valley, Ives said, "A system of irrigation and an improved method of agriculture (over Indian methods) would make the valley far more productive, but it is not certain that it could ever be a profitable place for white settlements. The shifting of the river bed, which to the Indians who have a certain community of property, is a matter of little importance, would occasion serious embarrassment to settlers who had established permanent locations and improvements. The rapidity and extent of the changes in the position of the Colorado can scarcely be imagined by one who has not witnessed them."¹⁸⁷ In view of the present day settlements in this valley, these early comments are amusing.

Yet, even with this comment, Lieutenant Ives seemed to consider the river better suited to navigation than to irrigation, and recommended it as the most economical avenue of transportation.

On March 2, 1858, the *Explorer* reached the foot of Black Canyon where she was securely moored while Ives and some of his men went in a small boat to the head of that canyon. Thence the party returned to the Mojave villages from which point the Lieutenant sent the *Explorer* back to Fort Yuma while he, joined by Lieutenant Tipton and twenty men, proceeded overland and explored the canyons of the Little Colorado and made the first visit of Americans to the famous old villages of the Moqui Indians.

And now the idea of a wagon road to California along the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude was spreading. This route from St. Louis to Los Angeles would be more direct than the Yuma road.

Back in 1854, a private citizen by the name of Felix Aubrey had driven a wagon all the way from San José, California, to Santa Fé, New Mexico, over this route. Sixty men had been with him on the trek.¹⁸⁸ Felix Aubrey was connected with the Santa Fé trade

between the "States" and Santa Fé, and was interested in extending the business to California over the shortest possible road. Later, he drove a band of sheep from Santa Fé to California over the same route. Starting with 350 head, the flock increased by births along the way, and not one animal was lost.¹⁸⁹

So Felix Aubrey, a civilian, had proved beyond question the practicability of this way. Then, too, Lieutenant Whipple had but recently conducted his survey for a railroad along this course and had declared it feasible. So, Uncle Sam ordered a wagon road surveyed and laid out. It was to run from Fort Defiance, New Mexico, to the eastern frontier of California. The work was put in charge of Lieutenant Edward F. Beale of the United States Topographical Engineers. This was in 1857.

Lieutenant Beale had been appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California and Nevada by President Buchanan in 1852, and had spent the five years since that time conducting expeditions through the Southwest. He was an officer with a splendid record and of an unusually fine character.

At this same time, the transportation-by-camel idea was sweeping the country. If the camels were used successfully on the Sahara Desert, why not on the "Great American Desert"? The "Dromedary Express" could carry the fast mail from the East to California in fifteen days. They visualized freight transportation by camelback, and even "fast camel passenger trains" from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean.¹⁹⁰

The camels, it was said, could cover thirty miles a day with a load of 600 to 1000 pounds; while the dromedaries, or fast riding camels, could go seventy-five miles in a day. And besides making these breath taking speeds, these animals would require less food, less water, and less care than horses or mules. So, on March 3, 1855, Congress appropriated \$30,000 for the purchase and importation of camels and dromedaries to be used by the War Department for military purposes. Jefferson Davis was then Secretary of War.

As a result of this action, the United States vessel *Supply* landed at Indianola, Texas, on May 14, 1856, with twenty-three camels, nine dromedaries, and one calf, thirty-three in all. Six Orientals, including a camel doctor, came with the animals to care

From Boulder to the Gulf

for them and to teach the Americans how to feed, pack and handle them. The following February another load of camels was landed on the Texas coast.

Now Lieutenant Beale went to San Antonio to take charge of the twenty-eight camels that had been consigned to him for use on his road along the 35th parallel. Leaving San Antonio on June 25, 1857, he proceeded to the Colorado River. On entering the territory that is now Arizona, the camel caravan passed through the Zuñi villages, skirted the San Francisco Mountains on the south, and then followed Bill Williams Fork down to the Colorado River.

The camels were in the charge of two orientals, "Greek George" and "Hi Jolly" (Hadji Ali) who were perhaps the best of the native tenders who came to America with the beasts.

Since the camels were purely an experiment, Lieutenant Beale put them to severe tests. They carried the water on the desert for the mules, and climbed mountain trails with heavy loads where horses and mules had difficulty in going. Their feet would stand rocks and stones that would make the feet of horses sore. And all this, the camels did with a willingness and ability that excited the admiration of the entire expedition.¹⁹¹

Occasionally, time was lost while stopping to pick up a scattered load, because the American soldiers were not adept at loading these "ships of the desert." But Lieutenant Beale spoke in highest praise of the animals and said they saved the expedition many hardships.

On October 14, the Colorado River was reached, with all the camels in perfect condition. Turning northward, the Beale caravan moved up the east bank of the Colorado through the Chemehuevis Valley and on to the Mojave villages in the Mojave Valley.¹⁹² These new and strange animals created the keenest interest and excitement among the Mojave Indians.

But what worried Beale was the problem of getting the camels across the great river, since all his reading had taught him that camels would not swim. But the young Lieutenant was not credulous. On the contrary, he was practical and resourceful. He would try the simplest means first before attempting to devise any more elaborate methods. So, when the caravan was ready to cross,

he led one of the animals to the river's edge and gently coaxed it into the water; but it refused to go in. Then he led another to the spot, the largest and finest of the herd. By example and by gentle coaxing he led the animal into the water and it struck out bravely and swam across. After this, it was easier to get the others to enter the stream. Tying the animals in gangs of five, he swam them all across with out any trouble.¹⁹³ From here, the caravan proceeded to San Bernardino over the usual route.

As to the roadway, the minimum of construction work was necessary, since the route proved almost a natural road. Beale recommended a few bridges and the construction of dams at intervals to provide water along the way.

The camels had proved themselves a success on the Beale expedition, yet the camel experiment as a whole turned out a complete failure, probably through no fault of the animals themselves. They were tried in various capacities and localities. But the American soldier did not understand the beasts and seemed disinclined to learn. Instead, they persisted in dealing with the camels exactly as they did with the army mules; and these tactics proved wholly unsuccessful. Then, too, horses and mules were afraid of the large beasts. In the towns the camels caused runaways and all kinds of spills.

However, in time, soldiers might have been trained to handle the camels, and horses might have become accustomed to them; had not other factors entered in to terminate the need for the animals. The Civil War broke out and men were needed on the battle fronts and could not be spared for such humble tasks as training camels. Also, the transcontinental railroad was assured in 1862. The telegraph system was spreading rapidly. The overland stage and express service had become regular and reasonably dependable. So, in less than a decade, the need for the camels had almost died out.¹⁹⁴

Those that were stationed at Fort Yuma were driven up to Benicia, California (east of San Francisco), and auctioned off to the highest bidders. A few were taken to the Comstock mines in western Nevada to carry supplies. Others were turned loose on the Arizona desert where the Apache Indians hunted them for meat.¹⁹⁵

Many stories are told by prospectors of seeing stray remnants


From Boulder to the Gulf

of the herd in remote places on the desert. But the last authentic record of these animals known to the author, is an account in a Prescott newspaper in 1881. This item tells of the capture of nine camels by the Indians in the vicinity of Gila Bend. These were sold to a circus menagerie at Kansas City, who sent an Egyptian, Al Zel, to get them. Seven of these were said to be larger than any ever exhibited in America. The price paid was small, as the Indians wanted to get rid of them because they kept their horses constantly excited. The item said also, that a large number of camels still roamed in the vicinity.¹⁹⁶

Quiet, unassuming "Hi Jolly", the best loved of all the Oriental camel drivers, lived on in Arizona until December 18, 1902, when death claimed him at Tyson's Well east of the Colorado.¹⁹⁷

CHAPTER XV

MORE FILIBUSTERS, AN INDIAN WAR, AND STAGE COACHES

ORTS AND SOLDIERS, filibusters, river navigation, Indian war, outlaws, floods and gold! Everything began happening all at once!

As the white settlement advanced, Uncle Sam sent soldiers and established an occasional fort to protect his people from outlaws and Indians. As early as December of 1863 Fort Whipple had been located at Postal's ranch, twenty-four miles northeast of the present town of Prescott. The following May it was moved to the left bank of Granite Creek, one mile northeast of Prescott, and became headquarters for the district.¹⁹⁸ Needless to say, the town of Prescott was not yet in existence.

And again, a filibustering expedition moved across our region; this time from Los Angeles to Sonora by way of Yuma and the Papagueria.

An American named Henry A. Crabb had married into the prominent Ainsa family of Sonora. Through his wife's relatives, he met Pesqueira, who was the leader of the political faction that was opposed to the governor of Sonora.

Pesqueira made a bargain with Crabb whereby Crabb was to

bring 1,000 Americans into Sonora and help him overthrow the governor. His reward was to be a strip of territory across northern Sonora. The pretext for bringing the Americans into the country was to be peaceful colonization along the northern frontier. The guns and military equipment were assumed necessary to fight Apaches. The poor Indians! They carried the blame for many and many an outrage committed by Americans and Mexicans.

So Crabb returned to California and made his plans for the organization of his thousand men. Leaving Los Angeles with an advance company of 100 soldiers, Crabb marched across the Colorado Desert to Yuma. There they were ferried across the river and continued their march through the Papagueria to Sonoita and then on to Caborca.

In the meantime, Pesqueira had succeeded in becoming governor himself, by overthrowing his political enemy without American aid. So, when Crabb and his soldiers arrived at Caborca, they found themselves facing Mexican guns. The people of Sonora saw no justification for the entrance of an army of Americans into their country.

This situation was most embarrassing to Pesqueira, whose treachery was unknown to his people. So he did the only thing he could do under the circumstances. He disclaimed all acquaintance with, or knowledge of, Crabb and joined his forces with the Mexican people against the invader. The Americans were defeated and every man killed. And further to show his sincerity and loyalty to his state, Pesqueira had Crabb's head sent to Mexico City. All this was in the spring of 1857.¹⁹⁹

In the fall of the same year, the Indians of the lower Colorado River region waged a devastating war among themselves. Early in September the Yumas and Mojaves organized a joint expedition to conduct a campaign against the Maricopas. But when the time came for the start, only the Yumas being ready, they advanced unaided by their allies. When the Maricopa territory was invaded by the tribe from the west, the Pimas and Papagoes came to their aid.²⁰⁰

The Maricopas, it will be remembered, were the first tribe up the Gila from the Colorado. The Pima territory lay still farther up the Gila; and the Papagoes occupied the territory known as the

From Boulder to the Gulf

Papagueria, just south of the other two tribes, in what is now southern Arizona and northern Sonora.

The Yumas attacked the Maricopa villages and a terrible battle resulted. No longer did the Indians have only bows and arrows for weapons. By this time many of the warriors carried guns. This made their casualties of battle much greater than before. The Yumas fought bravely, but they had the disadvantage of fighting in enemy territory, besides being greatly outnumbered. But, so persistent were they, that they refused to give up until more than 200 of their men had been killed. Then the few who remained took their wounded and headed for the Colorado. And of these, only three returned alive. This terrible battle was waged about twenty-five miles northwest of Casa Grande, or, near the present station of Heaton on the Southern Pacific Railroad.

After this, the Yuma tribe held a long and solemn ceremony in honor of their dead. The horses of the warriors who were killed in battle were destroyed and cremated according to the Yuman custom. All available food was also placed in the funeral pyre to provide for the 200 in the next world.

When the long ceremony was over, the tribe found itself without provisions and face-to-face with another famine, for the harvest had already been gathered for that year. At this point Uncle Sam stepped in and gave them food from the provisions for Fort Yuma. This act of kindness cemented the friendship between the Yumas and the white settlers that has endured to this day.

It was January of the following year (1858), when Captain George A. Johnson made his memorable voyage in the *General Jessup* up the Colorado to the head of navigation anticipating Lieutenant Ives, as told in the preceding chapter. This was the first steamer to ascend the river above Yuma, there being no white men living on the Colorado between Boulder Canyon and Yuma at the time.

After satisfying himself as to the practical head of navigation on the river, Johnson again pointed the bow of his steamer downstream and returned to Beale Crossing in the Mojave Valley, where he ferried the Lieutenant and his men across from the California to Arizona side. This had been the main purpose of his trip up the

river.

On the return voyage he met Lieutenant Ives coming up the stream in the *Explorer*. The *General Jessup* continued her course toward Yuma without further incident until she hit a large rolling stone and quickly sank to the bottom. This occurred just above Picacho. Johnson and his crew escaped injury and made their way back to Yuma. Later, they returned in the *Colorado* and succeeded in raising the *General Jessup* and in towing her back to Yuma.²⁰¹

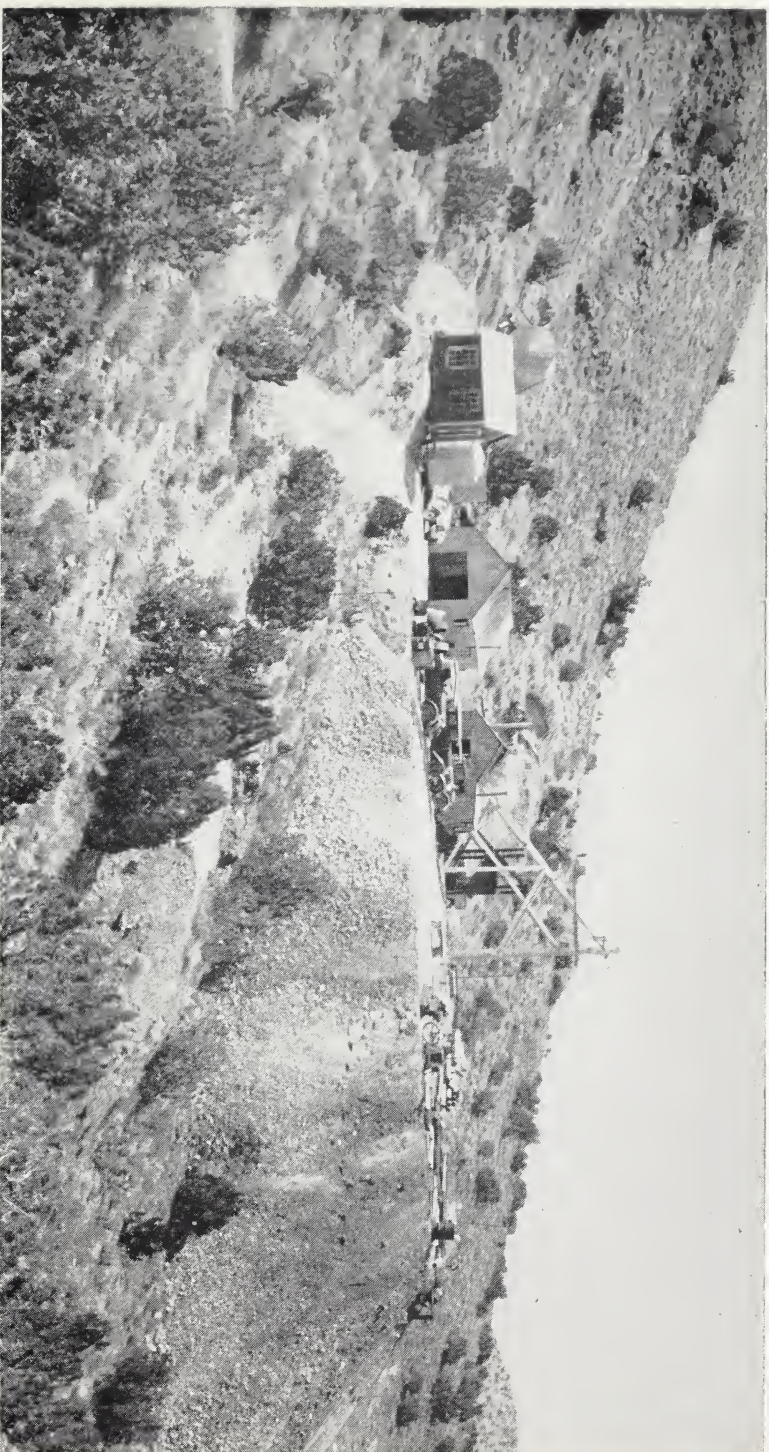
By this time, too, California had become a prosperous state, with a large population demanding mail and stage service with the East. So it was, that the California Stage Company was organized and undertook the operation of a semi-monthly stage between San Antonio, Texas, and San Diego, California. Isaiah C. Woods was the superintendent of the line.²⁰²

At the same time a contract was let for a wagon road over the route. This work was done under the direction of Superintendent James B. Leach and Engineer N. H. Hutton. The section between the Rio Grande and the Colorado was completed between October of 1857 and August of 1858. The course followed was that originally laid out by Colonel S. John Cooke in 1846 and known at the old Mormon road.

The new road departed from the old at only one place. It went by way of the San Pedro Valley through the town of Aravaipa, instead of the Santa Cruz Valley through Tucson. This deviation saved forty miles on the total distance.

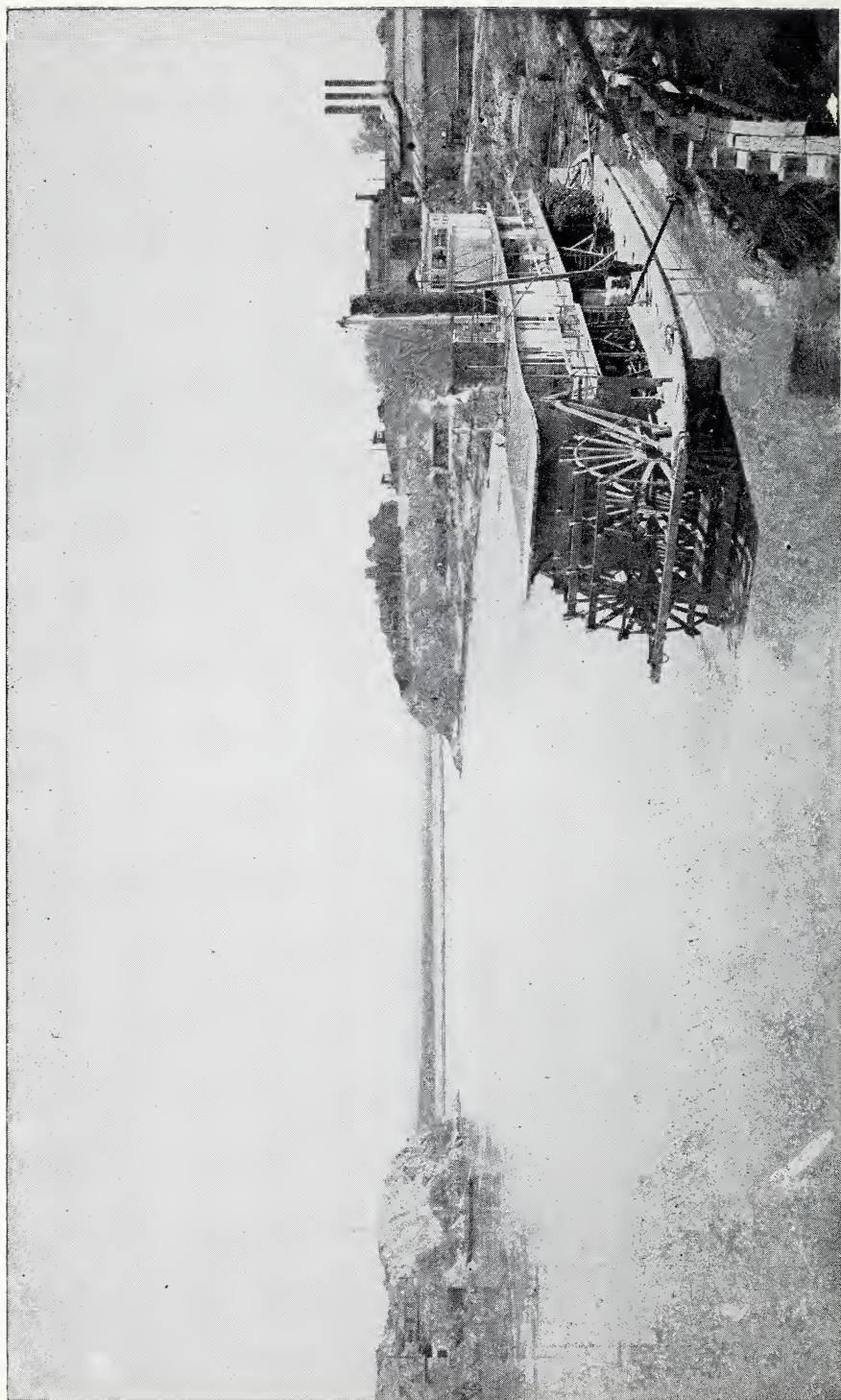
The first regular overland mail left San Diego for the East in October of 1857.²⁰³ It was carried over the new route in saddle bags. This method obtained during the time that stations were being built along the line and stock brought in, so that stages could be operated.

On November 15, of the same year, the first four-horse Concord stage left San Diego exactly at noon. After traveling twelve miles eastward on the route, a relay of horses was provided and the mail proceeded fifteen miles farther. But this stretch of twenty-seven miles was as far as the road would permit the use of the stage. There were no overland passengers as yet. At this point the mail was transferred to saddle bags and continued on its way east by way



PIONEER-PILGRIM MINE

One of the many mines of the region.



COLORADO RIVER STEAMBOAT

From Boulder to the Gulf

of Warner's Ranch, reaching Carrizo Creek on the edge of the Colorado Desert by eight o'clock that same evening.

Here the most difficult part of the trip began, Silas St. John and Charles Mason carried the bags across the desert, that is now the Imperial Valley, to the Yuma crossing in thirty-two hours without a relay. This was excellent time for 110 miles of desert trail with only one water hole open.²⁰⁴

At Yuma, St. John and Mason and their tired horses were relieved by Captain Wallace, popularly known as "Big Foot," who rode on to Maricopa Wells with two companions and two relief horses. And so with a series of relays, the United States mail continued its laborious way eastward, bearing with it the news of events and happenings in California.²⁰⁵

Nor was the development of this stage line all drudgery. There was plenty of excitement and some real adventure. In November of '57 Silas St. John drove a herd of stock from Yuma to Maricopa Wells for the station there. As they were proceeding up the Gila, they met a train load of ore *en route* from the Ajo mines to Yuma. It was in charge of Edward E. Dunbar who warned St. John of a band of Tonto Apaches just north of the Gila, and advised a detour to the south to avoid an encounter with the hostile Indians and the loss of stock that would almost surely result. St. John heeded the advice and took the long circuitous route to the south even though it meant being without water for thirty-six hours. To save time, they traveled by night, and it was an unusually black night. The mule that carried the food, lost his load unknown to the men. So the expedition marched on empty stomachs for the three remaining days until they reached Maricopa Wells.²⁰⁶

Early in December the first overland stage passengers from California to the East left San Diego. There were eighteen people carried in three coaches. It would be quite impossible to make the same schedule with the coaches that has been made with the mail carried on horseback, so an easier one was arranged. Extra teams were driven loose to provide relief for the horses that were doing the pulling. The general plan was to drive two hours and rest two hours alternately; covering, on the average about fifty miles a day.

Needless to say, there were no eating places along the way. It was necessary to depend upon the military camps through which they passed, to provide food. Some of these were found short of provisions; so, on that memorable first trip, there were a few days when the passengers had to be served grain from the feed bags of the mules.²⁰⁷

Then, when the travelers reached the country of the Comanches, a relay of fresh horses was expected. But the Comanches had raided the fort but a few days before, and there were no horses left. So the weary animals had to plod on 200 miles farther. Then, as if they had not yet had sufficient trouble, they encountered high water in the rivers in Texas. Finally they rolled into San Antonio ten days behind schedule.²⁰⁸

This California Stage Company was not a success, and its service was soon discontinued; but, at least, a beginning had been made in overland stage travel.

The following year, 1858, the Butterfield stage line was organized, with John Butterfield, of Utica, New York, as president. There were to be two termini on the eastern end, St. Louis and Memphis, converging at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. From this point the route would proceed to San Francisco over the usual road.²⁰⁹

The Butterfield Company secured the contract with Uncle Sam to carry the mails between California and the East three times a week for \$600,000 a year. Later the contract price was doubled in exchange for a daily mail service.

During the construction and organization work for this stage line, serious difficulties were encountered in eastern Arizona. Between the Apaches and the desperados, the work was anything but peaceful.

On one occasion Silas St. John and two companions were at work on the construction of one of the station buildings. They were attacked by desperados. A hand-to-hand fight followed, which left St. John with a broken arm and many flesh wounds, unable to move from the spot where he had fallen. His two companions were fatally injured and the laborers were killed outright. There St. John lay for days, helpless to aid his men, while he watched one of them die and saw the buzzards circle above and then swoop down

From Boulder to the Gulf

to their hideous feast. In the night the wolves came and destroyed the other wounded man. But somehow, St. John was spared; perhaps because he lay just inside the building by an opening that was to be a door. After more than a week of complete helplessness his plight was discovered. His rescuers took him to the nearest fort where his arm was immediately amputated and his wounds dressed, nine days after the battle. But such was the health and constitution of Silas St. John, that twenty-one days after the operation he mounted a horse and rode to Tucson.²¹⁰

It was in the fall of 1858, that the first stage started on its 2,535-mile journey over the new line. On September 15 it left St. Louis. But a great deal of mail had accumulated during the intermission of the service, so another stage had to be put on the road the next day. The schedule called for twenty-five days, but the two coaches both arrived in San Francisco on October 10; the first one on scheduled time, and the second a day ahead. This was the beginning of the first trans-continental mail and passenger line that rendered permanent and continuous service.²¹¹

The Butterfield stages were known for the remarkable accuracy which they maintained their schedule. In eighteen months they arrived in San Francisco late only three times. Their average speed while traveling was five and one-half miles an hour, and they covered 110 miles a day. Their record run was twenty-one days and twenty-three hours. Much of the road was merely trail; even the best sections were but little better. Road construction, in those days meant merely the building of a few short bridges, or breaking down the banks of rivers at the fords. Obstacles were not removed; the road simply went around them. There was always a shortage of water. At some of the stations the precious fluid had to be hauled for miles.

The horses used to draw the coaches were mostly wild, bucking, rearing bronchos. Each time a new team was put on, the animals were tamed down only after having exhausted themselves in a mad stampede — sometimes on the road and sometimes off it. Sometimes the wheels on one side were in the air, and sometimes those on the other — seldom all four on the road at once. So it went, over the mountains and down into the canyons. And for this wild ride the

passengers must pay \$150 exclusive of their meals. Needless to say, there were no sleeping coaches. Passengers sat up all night.

Meals at the stations cost anywhere from 40c to \$1. The usual menu was fried pork varied occasionally with local game, soggy corn bread or heavy biscuits, and strong chicory coffee sweetened with molasses or brown sugar.²¹² Always there was the menace of desperados and, on the eastern end of the journey, the Comanches and Apaches.

During the month of October, 1858, 2,509 letters were carried. The same month a year later, 64,000; while the following March the business had reaches 112,645 letters.

But now the Civil War broke out, and the Southern men were no longer in Congress. So, in the spring of 1861, the mail route was changed by vote of Congress from the southern route to California, to the central route by way of South Pass and Salt Lake City. In the reorganization, the name of the company was changed to the Overland Mail. April first saw the last of the Butterfield stages over the southern route.²¹³

The stage road, however, continued to be used to haul supplies and equipment to the mines; for gold had been discovered in the region of the lower Colorado.

CHAPTER XVI

GOLD



AS EARLY AS 1833 Pauline Weaver, a fur trapper from Tennessee, was tramping through the wilds of southwestern Arizona and southeastern California. That very year he carved his name on the wall of the prehistoric ruin of Casa Grande.

In contrast to most of the fur traders, Weaver made friends with the Indians. He had the confidence of the Yumas, Mojaves, Pimas, Maricopas, and other tribes. He was welcomed in their homes and spoke their various languages. He was a peacemaker between white men and Indians, and was never known to play false to either side.

After more than a quarter of a century of wandering through

From Boulder to the Gulf

this region, Weaver discovered placer gold along the Gila River some twenty to twenty-four miles above Yuma. The magic of the word "Gold!" Gila City sprang into existence almost overnight. A town of shanties with its saloons and dance halls. By 1861 it had attained its maximum population of about 1,200, and then it died as quickly as it had come into existence, when the placers gave out.²¹⁴

The diggings extended for several miles along the river. The richest of these placers were some miles back from the stream; the great problem there being to get water to pan the gold. But four years was the longest life of any of them.²¹⁵

Again it was the old pioneer, Pauline Weaver, who discovered the gold placers at La Paz, some five miles above Blythe on the east bank of the Colorado. And there sprang up, like a mushroom, a new town called La Paz (the Pass).

Miners came from California, from Oregon, from Sonora, from the East, from everywhere. Some came by way of San Geronimo Pass and Yuma. Some came to the head of the Gulf on ocean-going vessels, and from there to La Paz on the river steamers. Still others came the new Bradshaw cut-off. This was, at first, only a natural road cut through the brush by Bradshaw, Grant, and a few others as a short cut to the Colorado River mines.²¹⁶ Soon Bradshaw and his associates were operating a ferry from the eastern terminus of the new road across to La Paz. The old Bradshaw road is now part of Highway 60, "The Sunkist Trail".²¹⁷

The settlement of La Paz grew quickly to a town of 2,000 people.²¹⁸ New discoveries in the same general region were of common occurrence. In March of '62 a new field was discovered only some twenty-five miles above Yuma in the vicinity of Picacho.²¹⁹ El Dorado Canyon, too, sprang into action with more than a dozen mines.²²⁰ Late in May, Pauline Weaver wrote his son at San Bernardino to come at once at the mines were proving very rich.²²¹

Such was the rush to the Colorado River mines, that Los Angeles business firms had difficulty in holding their employees. The Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly Southern News* of June 4, 1862, carried apologies to its subscribers for the irregular delivery of the paper, saying their "News Devil" had succumbed to the gold

fever and had left for the Colorado River mines. "Persons not receiving their paper will please notify us and the paper will be sent."

News from the gold fields was glowing, indeed! "1,500 miners at work in one district"; "miners are making \$6 to \$200 a day."²²² "One man picked up \$50 in two hours; another has taken out \$6,000. Everyone who works makes money."²²³ A nugget weighing twenty-seven ounces, six pennyweight, was brought to Los Angeles. And \$10,000 worth of gold was said to be carried out on just one vessel bound for San Francisco.²²⁴

One of the miners reported the trail leading to the mines via the Bradshaw route "lined with wagons, teams and men, some on horseback, others on foot." Not less than 300 were seen in San Gorgonio Pass. Gold, he said, was plentiful, but the means of shipping it out was the problem. Express service was badly needed.²²⁵

Day after day the Los Angeles papers reported new discoveries all along the river from Black Canyon to Picacho, and a great exodus of people going to the mines. And all the reports warned prospective miners of the shortage of provisions and the high prices there.

In the fall of '63 miners were panning out \$50.00 to \$75.00 worth of gold a day in the Weaver District. But provisions were correspondingly high. Flour was selling at \$25.00 a hundred-weight, coffee at \$1.00 a pound, sugar at 75 cents a pound, and miners were buying bacon and lard at any price that was asked.²²⁶

By the following spring the values of mining property had run into substantial figures. Claims that had been bought from some discouraged miner for a woolen blanket, now sold for \$800.00 to \$1,500.00.²²⁷

The Indians began to get restless with the influx of such large numbers of white men. Many of the miners made no distinction between friendly and hostile natives, regarding them all as "bad Indians." This led to ill feeling between the races. Especially was this true in the case of the Tonto Apaches as the miners pushed on to the second range of mountains east of Colorado. It was then that the old peace-maker, Pauline Weaver, made a tour of the neighboring tribes to make the gold fields safe for the miners.²²⁸

In December of '63 a new district was discovered on the Cali-

From Boulder to the Gulf

ifornia side of the river, some forty miles west of Ft. Mojave, known as the Rock Spring District. The ore was reported to run \$60.00 to \$1,500.00 a ton. Mines were located here both on Silver Mountain and Macedonia Mountain.²²⁹

La Paz was the first of the important mining towns that came into existence with this "gold rush." It was a typical mining town. Its population was nondescript — all classes and many different races, with Mexicans predominating. These worked with the "*bateas*," or large Mexican wooden bowls instead of the gold pans which the American miners used. Eight million dollars were said to have been taken out of the La Paz mines during the seven years they were actively worked.²³⁰

The town of La Paz was correspondingly short lived. Many new settlements came into existence; most of them steamboat landings on the river. But the queen of them all was Ehrenberg, originally called Mineral City. The ruins of Old Ehrenberg may be seen today at the eastern end of the bridge at the Blythe crossing.

The settlement began in 1862 when Herman Ehrenberg established a crude log ferry for the convenience of the miners who were then flocking into the region.

Herman Ehrenberg was the man who had surveyed Colorado City, the original town of Yuma, eight years before. He was a scientist and a civil engineer of extraordinary ability. After winning distinction in the Texas War, he returned to his old home in Germany, and there wrote an account of his experiences in the American West. So attractive was this report, that it brought a large migration of Germans to this region.²³¹

Returning to his adopted country, he joined a party which was leaving St. Louis for Oregon. From Oregon he visited the Hawaiian and other islands of the Pacific. By this time the Mexican War had begun, and Ehrenberg returned to California, where he fought under General Frémont. After the Gadsden Purchase he went to Arizona where he worked strenuously chiefly in the mining business, though he found time to establish the ferry and survey and lay out the town of Mineral City. Shortly thereafter Mr. Ehrenberg was killed by the hand of an Indian at Palm Springs, California,

where he now lies buried. And the name of Mineral City was changed to Ehrenberg in his memory.

When the bubble of La Paz had burst, Ehrenberg became second only to Yuma in importance among the towns of the lower Colorado River region. At its wharf the river steamers unloaded supplies for the mines of the entire region between the river and Prescott. And ore was loaded there to be floated down to the head of the gulf, where ocean going freighters would take it to San Francisco.

A freight line was established between San Francisco and Prescott by way of the Bradshaw road. And the great wide-wheeled freighters were ferried across the river at Ehrenberg. Soon passenger coaches were put on the road, and Ehrenberg became the principal station on the route. Miners flocked to Ehrenberg to exchange their gold for food, supplies, and "refreshments"; for every other door on Main Street was a saloon. Mojaves, Yumas and even Cocopahs brought hides, mesquite beans and melons to trade for American goods at the Ehrenberg stores. Troops and supplies for the various forts all disembarked at Ehrenberg, and American soldiers were always to be seen on its dusty streets.²³²

The town was built entirely of *adobe*, even the floors of the houses, for wood was very scarce. There were no screens, and insect life, so close to the river, was prolific. Summer temperatures sometimes reached 120 degrees, and there was no ice. Drinking water was taken from the brown, muddy Colorado, settled in barrels, and cooled in *ollas*. The keeping of food in summer was a real problem, and there was precious little variety. The only bathtub was the river, and here the early morning hours found plenty of bathers.²³³

During the height of the gold excitement the river boats were wholly inadequate to the demands made upon them. Ore and supplies were piled high on every wharf waiting for the busy steamers to transport them. The Los Angeles and San Francisco newspapers cried the need for better transportation facilities in the mining region.

The bulk of the supplies came in over two main routes; one by wagon from Los Angeles, and the other by steamer from the head

From Boulder to the Gulf

of the gulf. Their relative merits were discussed in a Los Angeles newspaper in 1862:²³⁴

It is reported that large numbers expect to embark at San Francisco on board of small vessels, which they expect to charter for the new Mexican "Port of Liberty," which it is stated has recently been opened by the Mexican government near the mouth of the Colorado River. It is said there is good anchorage at the above named port and that goods may be hauled there with safety and great facility in reaching steamer navigation on the Colorado. It will be recollected, however, that those who embark that way, that they will be almost as far from the mines when they reach the above named point as it is from San Pedro or Los Angeles to the mines by way of the Bradshaw route. The dangers of the sea in doubling Cape San Lucas must also be taken into account.

The first passenger stage came into the region in September, 1862 over the new Bradshaw road. It was a Concord coach with six horses and six passengers. After crossing the river on the new ferry, it proceeded to La Paz where it created great excitement, since the miners had no idea that a stage was to be operated.²³⁵

Olive City and Aubrey City were other mining towns like La Paz, that sprang up like mushrooms and then as quickly died when the first flush of the mining excitement was over. But Ehrenberg was more substantial. It continued to live and prosper into the present century.

The mines immediately adjacent to the Colorado were placers and, while they were profitable, yet the panning of gold was slow and tedious. So the Americans soon pressed eastward into the mountain ranges of western Arizona, under the leadership of Pauline Weaver and Joseph Walker. In a few years the La Paz district was practically deserted. But the steamboat landings and stage stations continued to prosper in the business of transporting supplies and ore for the new quartz mines in the mountains; for these were not bubbles, but continue to this day as a large and substantial industry.

Out of this "gold rush" of the sixties, grew distinct mining districts. First was the Montezuma District in which was located Gila City, where gold was first discovered in 1858. This region later became known for its rich veins of silver.

The Castle Dome District, immediately northeast of Yuma,

produces chiefly silver, but there is some lead, iron, and a little gold. The Picacho District lies just across the river on the California side.

Seven miles east of La Paz, Pauline Weaver found another "strike" which became known as the Weaver District. This find attracted 1,500 miners in '62 and '63, but most of them had moved on to newer fields by '64. A million dollars are said to have been taken from this field in the first year.²³⁶

The Bill Williams District, at the junction of that river with the Colorado, yielded mostly copper. Aubrey City was its steamboat landing and supply center; The Planet, its chief mineral load. It was a very rich and attractive district.

In northwestern Arizona are nine distinct mountain ranges running north and south. Their tops are covered with pines and their valleys with oak, birch, alder and cedars. Water is plentiful in the ravines. Some 2,500 locations were made in this region in 1863. The towns of Mineral and Chloride had their beginnings about this time.

On the California side of the river, mines were located in the Chocolate Mountains, the Black Hills, the Chuckawallas, and all the way up to the El Dorado Range in what is now the point of Nevada, just below Hoover Dam.

Away to the south, just above the Sonora line, in Arizona, is the Ajo District, the richest and oldest of all. This was mined by the Spaniards before the coming of the Americans.

The Wickenburg District and the Prescott District date their development from the early sixties. Their supplies were shipped in, and their ores shipped out by boat and wagon train by way of Ehrenberg.


The famous old prospector, Pauline Weaver, soon after located a ranch in what is now Yavapai County, and settled to a life of well-deserved retirement until his death in the late sixties.²³⁷

In the midst of the activities in the placer mines along the Colorado, the river began to rise; slowly at first, but higher and higher. Then the old Colorado went mad and broke out in one of its terrible rampages. Whole towns crumbled before it — Gila City and Colorado City were among those to go.

From Boulder to the Gulf

CHAPTER XVII

ARIZONA BECOMES A TERRITORY

IGHTEEN HUNDRED SIXTY-TWO was a year of floods throughout the Southwest. San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara were all visited by inordinate quantities of devastating water. In Sacramento the water was reported as being up to the tops of the telegraph poles, and so rough it could not be navigated even for the purpose of rescue work. The State Legislature adjourned to San Francisco.²³⁸

The water in the Colorado was high, but the Gila was even higher. Gila City was completely washed away. And below the junction, where the Gila added its flood waters to the already full Colorado, the river went entirely out of bounds and tore down to the Gulf tumbling every obstruction in its course before it.

A week later, a letter appeared in the *Los Angeles Star* from Major Rigg of Fort Yuma, giving the details of the flood. The letter had left the Fort by boat to Pilot Knob, then by horse and Indian runner to Ft. Wright. It said, in part:²³⁹

Fort Yuma is now an island. The river commenced rising on the twentieth suddenly, nearly six feet. The overflow carried nearly everything with it. Hooper's dwelling and Captain Johnson's are the only buildings left standing. Colorado City is entirely washed away. They saved a portion of the goods. Only two boats from the Fort could render assistance. The ferry boat dared not venture out. The steamboat machine shop was washed away. The stores are gone and the pool hall is gone. A boy was rescued from a tree. The country is submerged from here to Pilot Knob. The Post water works are submerged but the commissary's stores are saved. A large number of cattle have been drowned. Yeager's wood wagon and stock were carried away. The Gila extends as far as the sand hills on the right and to the foothills on the left. Fears are entertained for the safety of the steamer [evidently one of them was out]. The Hoffman trail is impassable. The water between the Post and the lagoon is fifteen feet deep. The Indians lost their crops. Two squaws swam to the Post from Reed's, over a mile.

Ft. Yuma, it will be remembered, was on high ground on the north, or California, side of the river where the Indian School now

stands; so it survived the flood. But nearly everything below the hill was destroyed, and had to be rebuilt when the waters subsided.

Meanwhile, the mining excitement upstream, together with the new Bradshaw road, had shifted the center of interest from Yuma to La Paz and Ehrenberg. While, to the east of the river, the settlers in the mining district around Ft. Whipple had dreams of a new town. On Monday evening, May 30, 1864, the dwellers on Granite Creek met in Don Manuel's store and agreed on the dimensions and boundaries of their municipality.²⁴⁰

After much discussion on the subject of a name, they agreed to call the town Prescott in honor of "the eminent American Writer and standard authority on Aztec and Spanish-American history."²⁴¹

By the following July the survey had been made and the streets laid out. These were named after men connected with the history of the region: Montezuma, Cortez, Alarcon, Coronado, Whipple, Aubrey, Walker, and so on. By the time the Fourth was celebrated that year, 232 lots had been sold for a total sum exceeding \$12,000. The highest price paid was \$245.00 for a lot in the business district.²⁴²

That very same year, 1864, Prescott became the capital of the newly organized Territory of Arizona, after a clash with Tucson for the honor. It will be remembered that there were no white people living in Arizona north of the Gila at the time of the Gadsden Purchase, ten years before. That left the Gadsden area as the only part of the present state of Arizona that was occupied by people other than the native races. So the land was added to Doña Ana County of New Mexico, and was administered, or supposed to be administered, from Santa Fé.

This, obviously, was most unsatisfactory because of the distance and difficulties of transportation and communication. It was worse than no government at all; since it not only failed to protect the people, but prevented them from taking the reins of government into their own hands. As early as 1856, the settlers held a convention at Tucson at which they resolved to send a memorial to Congress asking that the land within the Gadsden Purchase be organized into a separate territory. Two hundred sixty signatures were secured on the memorial, and Nathan P. Cook was chosen to go to

From Boulder to the Gulf

Washington and present it. But the measure got no further than a committee of Congress.²⁴³

In December of 1857, Senator Gwin of California introduced a bill proposing to organize a territorial government for the Gadsden Purchase under the name of Arizona. The following February, the California Legislature passed a resolution in favor of the act, and added a recommendation that the New Mexico Indians be removed to Arizona north of the Gila, and that 109° West Longitude be established as the dividing line between the territories of New Mexico and Arizona (109° West Longitude is the present boundary).²⁴⁴

Senator Gwin's bill failed to pass Congress, but the people of Arizona continued their efforts. More conventions were held at Tucson, and more delegates were sent to Washington bearing the requests of the people. But the proposed new territory had less than 10,000 inhabitants, exclusive of Indians, so their voice was not heard.

In October of 1860, they held another convention at Tucson at which they established a provisional constitution to stay in force until Congress should make a territory. They set 33°, 40" as their northern boundary, instead of the Gila River.²⁴⁵ This is a line which, roughly speaking, runs through the present town of Globe, passes westward just south of modern Pheonix, and strikes the Colorado River just about opposite the present Imperial-Riverside county line in California. Furthermore they set up a complete government for themselves, by which they could act if necessary. But nothing was actually carried out.²⁴⁶

The bill came up before Congress again in December of 1860 and again in March of 1862. But in the meantime, the discovery of gold had brought a large influx of people into northern Arizona. So, when the bill came up before Congress the last time, northern Arizona and the southern part of Nevada were included. And by February of 1863, when the bill finally passed, the northern section had such a large majority that they were able to secure the location of the capital for their new town of Prescott.²⁴⁷

The first Territorial Legislature met there late in September, 1864. John N. Goodwin was the first Governor, and his first procla-

mation contained a recommendation for a reservation on the Colorado River for the friendly Indian tribes. This would serve the double purpose of protecting them from their traditional enemies, the Apaches, and at the same time keep them free from their war-like influence.

Further, the Governor recommended an irrigation project on this reservation to assure the Indians against crop failures from drought. This project was to be financed by an appropriation from Congress.²⁴⁸

The first Legislature also appointed a committee of five to make a study of the navigation of the Colorado River. On October 5, this committee made its report. The river was declared navigable at all times for boats not exceeding a draught of twenty-five inches, as far up as El Dorado Canyon (about half-way between Hoover Dam and the point of Nevada). A medium water, they declared it navigable to Black Canyon. They pointed out the commercial advantage of improving the navigability and making it possible to run steamers up to the Virgin River to make an outlet for the Mormons, since this point is only 350 miles from Salt Lake City.

But, owing to the fickle nature of the river, all work would necessarily be of a temporary nature, and should consist of the removal of obstructions such as snags, bars, and boulders.

In conclusion, the committee recommended that the Territory of Arizona ask Congress for an appropriation of \$150,000; \$100,000 of which was to be expended on improving the river in the vicinity of Fort Mojave and Fort Yuma.²⁴⁹

At that time, there were already five steamers plying the river, and two more were in the course of construction. The Colorado Steam Navigation Company with headquarters at Yuma, was operating the *Colorado*, a sixty-ton boat; the *Mojave*, with a capacity of one hundred tons; the *Cocopah*, a forty-ton steamer; besides towing several barges of one hundred-ton capacity each. The Arizona and Miner's Steam Navigation Company operated the fifty-ton *Esmeralda* and two barges, and had another boat in construction at the mouth of the river. The Philadelphia Mining Company, whose mines were on the California side of the river, operated the *Nina Tilden* and was building a second steamer.²⁵⁰

From Boulder to the Gulf

Yuma and Mojave Counties were created by the first Legislature, too. La Paz was the county seat of Yuma County until early in January of 1870, when it was transferred to Yuma after the collapse of La Paz.

Bill Williams Fork was the dividing line between Yuma and Mojave Counties. The latter extended northward in a straight line along its eastern boundary to the present Utah-Arizona line, then westward to the California-Nevada line; thus including the entire southern point of Nevada. The county seat was located at Hardyville, just above Fort Mojave.

In '65 the northern part of Mojave County was cut off and made into a new county called Pah-Ute, with its county seat at the newly established Mormon settlement of Callville just above Hoover Dam. Within the year, the seat of the new county was moved to St. Thomas, another Mormon colony a little way up the Virgin River.

Then in '66, that part of both Mojave and Pah-Ute Counties lying west of the present Nevada-Utah line and the Colorado River was cut off and added to Lincoln County in the new state of Nevada. The little that was left of Pah-Ute County after the Nevada amputation was reannexed to Mojave County, Arizona, in 1871.²⁵¹

Changes in county lines had been taking place on the west side of the river, too. In 1850, the entire California bank of the Colorado was San Diego County. But a year later the boundaries of Los Angeles County were extended to include all the territory that is now San Bernardino County and about half of Inyo County, besides a part of Riverside.²⁵² But Los Angeles County touched the Colorado for only two years and then San Bernardino County was carved out of its eastern part. And so, from 1853 to 1893, the west bank of the Colorado was San Bernardino County from the Nevada line down to a point about opposite the present town of Parker, and San Diego County from there to the Mexican border.

The 1893 Riverside County was carved out of San Bernardino and San Diego Counties, taking most of its territory from the latter.²⁵³ It was not until 1907 that Imperial County was separated from San Diego.

In 1866 Captain Rogers made a record trip when he took the *Esmeralda* up to Callville at the foot of Boulder Canyon. This boat was ninety-six feet long and drew three and one-half feet of water, so the feat was considered most remarkable; since the proposed river improvements had not been made.

All this time, Yuma was busy rebuilding after its devastation in '62. Within two years of the flood, the large new Quartermaster's Depot has been completed on the Arizona side. Yuma was, at this time, the distributing depot for the military posts of Arizona. This work was done under the direction of Captain William B. Hooper. Shortly thereafter, Captain Hooper resigned from the service and began a long and successful career in the mercantile business at Yuma.²⁵⁴ He was succeeded in the Fort by Captain W. B. Hughes.

In '67 the new depot was destroyed by fire, but was immediately rebuilt. At the height of Yuma's prosperity, the depot alone employed several hundred men and worked 900 mules in the freighting of supplies to the surrounding forts.²⁵⁵

All this while, the Civil War had been raging east of the Mississippi. The officers of the forts in the lower Colorado River region were largely Southern men who resigned their posts to return home to fight the North. The privates nearly all remained loyal to Uncle Sam and stayed at their posts.²⁵⁶

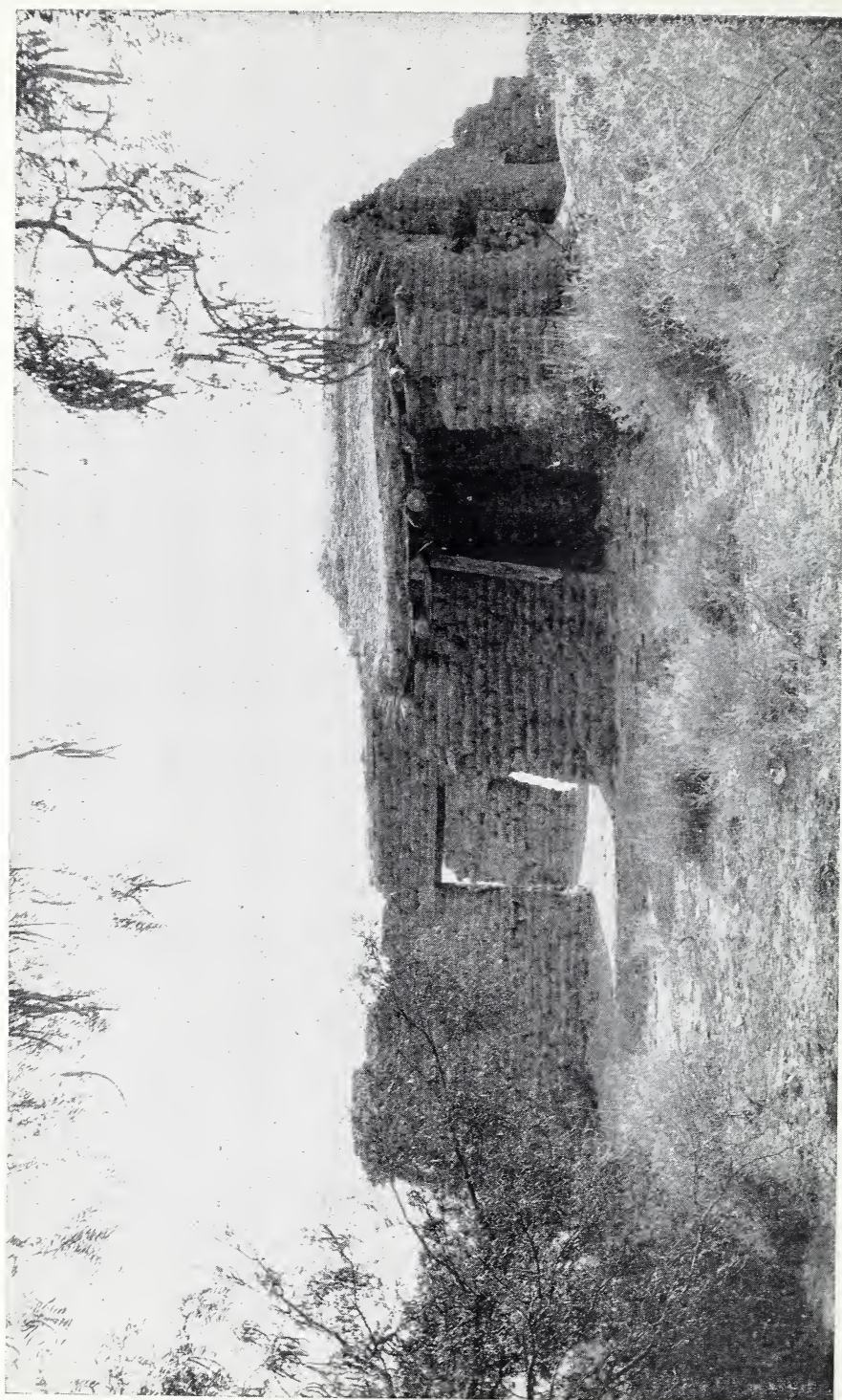
To the east, a force of 300 Texans under command of Captain Hunter invaded Arizona and easily took possession of Tucson, as Southern sympathizers were in the majority there. Then it was that the California Column under the command of Colonel James H. Carleton was ordered to Tucson. In 1862, some two months after the flood, the army, comprising 1,800 men, marched from Los Angeles to Yuma and on toward Tucson by way of the Gila route.

The main body of troops did not even see the Confederates. But an advance party met the Southerners a little distance southeast of Casa Grande where a lively skirmish took place, after which Captain Hunter and his men retreated to the Rio Grande, and the Stars and Stripes were again raised over Tucson.²⁵⁷

Colonel Carleton left a garrison at the Pima Villages which became Fort Barrett, named in honor of the only officer killed by Confederates in Arizona.



RUINS OF EHRENBERG



OLD BUTTERFIELD STAGE STATION IN THE IMPERIAL VALLEY

From Boulder to the Gulf

CHAPTER XVIII

RIVER VOYAGES AND FIRST INDIAN RESERVATIONS



UP TO THIS TIME, all the boats on the Colorado River had come up stream from Yuma or one of the mining camps. The formidable canyons up river had not only repelled, but actually terrorized navigators. Even the intrepid fur traders all had beached their canoes and refused to venture into the awesome depths. So the great canyons of the Colorado were still unexplored.

Now, Major John Wesley Powell was a hero of the late Civil War, had lost an arm in the Battle of Shiloh. Professionally, he was a geologist. In the summer of 1869 he was sent by the Smithsonian Institution to make a study of the canyons of the Colorado River.

On May 29, he started from Green River Station in Wyoming with ten men and four boats. This voyage, the first ever made by man through those awful canyons, was no harebrained adventure, but a serious, scientific expedition. The drop in altitude from the starting place to the mouth of the Virgin River is some 5,000 feet. From this, at least a faint idea can be gathered of the difficulties of navigation due to rapids and swiftness of the current.

All went well until the party reached Ladore Canyon. Here one of the boats was wrecked on the rocks. While no one was hurt, the incident almost wrecked the company as well as the boat. Major Powell blamed some of the men for blundering, and they blamed him for failing to signal in time. As a result, one man left the party and made his way alone on foot to the nearest Indian agency. But the nine men went on in their three remaining boats.²⁵⁸

Deeper, narrower and darker became the canyons, mere cracks in the rocks through which the great river gushed. Cataract Canyon, Narrow Canyon, Glen Canyon, past Lee's Ferry, though Marble Gorge into Marble Canyon, and then the Grand Canyon. The Marble and Grand Canyons together are almost 300 miles in length, "the greatest continuous chasm on the globe."²⁵⁹

Here the men experienced their greatest difficulties. They were

worn out from the constant struggle with rapids, rocks and current; and their food supply was almost exhausted. Most of it had been either lost by accident or ruined by wetting.

As they approached the Lower Granite Gorge, a particularly dangerous rapid loomed before them. The two remaining men who had been wrecked in Ladore Canyon, and one other, refused to attempt this furious stretch of water. So they climbed out of the Canyon on the north side near Mt. Dellenbaugh. There they got into difficulties with the natives and were killed.²⁶⁰ The others nerved themselves and plunged into the boiling cauldron, and came through it safely.

It was the end of August when the six exhausted men reached Callville. Here they were graciously received by the Mormons who supplied them with food and showed them every kindness. At this point, the expedition officially terminated. Major Powell and one of the men left the river here. Jack Sumner and the other three went on down the river to Yuma. Here two others dropped out, but Sumner and Andrew Hall, after remaining at Yuma for the winter, continued on to the Gulf. They are believed to be the first human beings who had ever gone down the Colorado from Green River Valley to tide water.²⁶¹ Sumner spent his whole life in the wilderness, hunting and prospecting. He knew Bridger and Carson intimately, and lived until 1907.

But the work of the expedition was not yet finished, so a year was spent in preparation for a second voyage. Major Powell learned a great deal from his experiences on the first trip. Among other things, he learned that it was unwise to depend for their food supply on the transportation afforded by small, tippy boats on the Colorado's turbulent waters. So, for his second venture, he arranged to have food delivered to the river at four different points along the route. Then if accidents occurred, they would at least be assured of a fresh supply of food a little farther down stream.

On May 22, 1871, Major Powell started from Green River Station, Wyoming, on his second venture through the canyons. This time he had three boats and a crew of ten men. Among them was Frederick Dellenbaugh, then a boy of seventeen. Dellenbaugh lived

From Boulder to the Gulf

to be a leading authority on the early history of the American West.²⁶²

The second expedition experienced the usual difficulties with the rapids, rocks and current; but had fewer mishaps than the first. Experience is a valuable teacher. The Major rode practically all the way in an old arm chair that had been securely fixed in one of the boats. This placed him a little higher than the others and enabled him to warn the men as they approached particularly dangerous places. The journey terminated at the foot of Kanab Creek which is now the northwest corner of the Grand Canyon National Park.

On the very day the second Powell Expedition was encamped at the junction of Green River with the Colorado, another expedition started upstream from Fort Mojave, through the canyons to the mouth of Diamond Creek. This was the Wheeler Survey and consisted of a party of thirty-four men sent by the Topographical Engineers of the United States Army.

The purpose of this expedition is not clear, since almost the entire distance had already been explored and scientifically reported by Major Powell two years before. Why it was necessary for those men to drag the three boats up stream over all those rapids, is a mystery. But it must, at least, be appreciated as a remarkable feat.

They were headed by Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, who was assisted by a professional staff of seven men, six boatmen, six soldiers and fourteen Mojave Indians under Captain Asquit, himself a Mojave.²⁶³ They left Fort Mojave on September 16, 1871. The first few days they were able to row for considerable stretches using the tow-lines only at the infrequent rapids. Five days of work brought them to the foot of Black Canyon. A week later they had labored their way up to the junction of the Virgin River. Many times it was necessary for all the men to concentrate their efforts on one of the boats, literally to drag it up over the rapids. The feat was actually accomplished, though it was possible only because there were so many men to man the tow-ropes.²⁶⁴

Five years later (1876) a survey was conducted under the

direction of Lieutenant Eric Bergland from the foot of the lower Grand Canyon to Mojave Valley. The purpose was two-fold; to study means of possible flood control, and to determine the feasibility of diverting water for irrigation purposes.²⁶⁵

The lower river in the early 70's was a desolate region, indeed. On the California side there was practically nothing except a few mining camps and old Fort Yuma. On the Arizona side, Mojave County boasted an "urban" population of only 179 persons. One hundred fifty-nine lived in Mojave City at Fort Mojave; the other twenty comprised the little settlement of Hardyville, just above the Fort. Most of the miners of the past decade had either given up entirely, or drifted eastward into Yavapai County. This county had thirteen settlements in 1870, of which Prescott, the capital of Arizona, was the largest, having a population of 668.²⁶⁶

With the expiration of the placer activities on the east bank of the Colorado and the rebuilding of Yuma after the flood of 1862, the center of population of the region had again returned to the southern town. One thousand forty-four people lived in Yuma in 1870, while La Paz was gasping its last with a remaining population of only 254.

Ehrenberg had only 233 people, but was on the ascendency; since it was not merely a "gold rush" town, but derived its chief revenues from the transportation business, both by river steamboat and wagon freight.

In accordance with the recommendation of Governor Goodwin, a reservation was provided for the friendly tribes on the Colorado River. It began some four miles above Ehrenberg and extended forty-five miles up stream on both banks. For the first two years (1864-66) this Colorado River Indian Reservation was in the charge of Herman Ehrenberg and John C. Dunn.

The site was selected by Charles D. Poston, who was prominent in the affairs of the Territory of Arizona, and set aside by act of Congress in 1865. It was intended for all the river tribes and the Hualapais and Yavapais. But only the Chemehuevis and about half the Mojaves could be induced to make their homes there.²⁶⁷

Comfortable *adobe* buildings were constructed at various times

From Boulder to the Gulf

from 1867 on. That same year, an irrigation project, known as the Grant-Dent Ditch²⁶⁸ was begun on the Reservation at Headgate Rock two miles above the present town of Parker. A huge canal was built entirely by the Mojave Indians without a dredge. In some places it was fifty feet wide and twenty feet deep. It can still be traced for a distance of seven miles into the valley.²⁶⁹

But the "Ditch" was a failure because it could be used only in times of overflow; and this result the Indians had been achieving for centuries without the white man's ditch. In the years when the water was low in the river, the Indians suffered from drought as they always had done. They watched the white man's efforts, smiled, shook their heads, and returned to their homes unconvinced.

Some 300 Chemehuevis lived on the Reservation, and 500 to 600 Mojaves. As many more of the Mojaves lived in the vicinity of the Fort.

Contact with the white man was fast demoralizing this once splendid race of people. Gradually they dropped their own culture and ideals and bought the white man's tinware and gewgaws. Most of the men soon lost themselves in gambling and intoxication, and most of the women in prostitution. And nearly all became diseased. But, withal, they were peaceful, honest and industrious.²⁷⁰

A school was opened for the children of the Mojaves in 1873. From time to time, the area of the reservation was increased. In 1874 it comprised 200 square miles; ten years later it had 600 square miles. The Mojaves kept horses but they were pets and used only for racing, so they were of little profit to them.

The Yumas could never be induced to move to the reservation. They preferred to make their own way as best they could on their old stamping ground.

The Cocopahs were the least influenced by the Americans, and continued to live very much as they had lived before the coming of the white people; but even they donned overalls and skirts, and succumbed to the attraction of tinware in place of their primitive utensils.

The Hualapais, it will be remembered, were Apache-Yumas; the Yavapais were Apache-Mojaves. Both lived in the mountains

in that vast region between the Gila on the south, and the Grand Canyon of the Colorado on the north. The Hualapais numbered about 1,500 and the Yavapais about 2,000.

Both tribes were friendly to the white people until about 1866 when the miners invaded their region. As has been said before, many and many a crime committed by white outlaws was laid at the door of the Indians. This was especially true in the lawless early days. So, these Indians were accused of depredations of which they were innocent and, as a result, were "victims of several disgraceful outrages."²⁷¹ These affairs sent them on the war path against the new-comers until 1871-72.

By this time, the Yavapais had become identified with the Apaches and were forced onto a reservation farther to the east.

The Hualapais, on the other hand, surrendered to the white man and even fought Apaches for him. Then, for their "reward," the Hualapais were moved against their will to the Colorado River Indian Reservation. This was in 1874. They begged and pleaded for permission to return to their native mountains, pledging themselves to live in peace if they could but have their freedom. Their pleas being denied, the following year they ran away from the reservation and returned to their beloved mountains — for they had never been river people.

Back in their *sierras*, they lived their old way as they had done before the white men came to disturb them. They kept their pledge of peace, so they were not pursued. In 1881 a tract of 2,000 square miles on the Grand Canyon bend of the Colorado, was set apart for them as a separate reservation.²⁷²

The Gila River Indian Reservation was set aside as early as 1859 for the Pimas and Maricopas. They, too, lived very much in their old way in a dozen villages of conical willow huts. Like the Mojaves, their habits also had degenerated through contact with the Americans. But they were still an industrious people, and raised a large surplus of grain which they sold to the settlers.²⁷³

The Papagoes had the reputation for being "the best Indians of Arizona."²⁷⁴ They were about 5,000 strong in the early seventies. They were always friends of the Americans, and deadly enemies

From Boulder to the Gulf

of the Apaches. They were less addicted to intoxication and licentiousness than any of the other tribes, and they adapted themselves well to almost any kind of work.

Could this still be the result of the work done among them by good Padres Kino and Garcés, who had Christianized them so thoroughly more than a century before?

(To be continued in the June QUARTERLY)

NOTES :

181. Jenson, Andrew, *History of Las Vegas Mission*. Mss. copy, (in part) 3.
182. *Ibid.*, 4.
183. *Ibid.*, 4-5.
184. Scrugham, *Nevada*. 590-591.
185. Farish, *History of Arizona*. II, 24.
186. Ives, *Report of the Colorado River of the West*, 42.
187. *Ibid.*, 73.
188. Farish, *History of Arizona*. I, 353.
189. *Ibid.*, 359.
195. Hyatt, "Phantom Herd of the Mojave," *Overland Monthly*, June, 1935. 10.
191. Farish, *History of Arizona*. I, 356.
192. Gray, "Camels in California," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*. IX, December, 1930. 303.
193. *Ibid.*, 303-304
194. *Ibid.*, 317.
195. Hyatt, "Phantom Herd of the Mojave," *Overland Monthly*, June, 1935. 10.
196. *Prescott Democrat*, December 30, 1881.
197. Gray, *Camels in California*," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*. IX, December, 1930. 315.
198. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*, 308.
199. *Ibid.*, 36-37.
200. Farish, *History of Arizona*, I, 262.
201. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*, 248.
202. Farish, *History of Arizona*, II, 1-2.
203. *Ibid.*, 2.
204. *Ibid.*, 3.
205. *Ibid.*, 3.
206. *Ibid.*
207. *Ibid.*, 4.
208. *Ibid.*
209. *Ibid.*
210. *Ibid.*, 5-10.
211. *Ibid.*, 11.
212. *Ibid.*, 13.
213. *Ibid.*, 14.
214. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 500.
215. Hinton in his *Handbook to Arizona*, 154, credits the discovery of the Gila Placers to Jacob Snively.
216. Hutchinson, *Development and Use of Transportation Routes in the San Bernardino Valley Region, 1769-1900* (Mss.). 121.
217. The Bradshaw ferry was a few miles above the present bridge at Blythe.
218. *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly Southern News*, September 10, and 26, 1862.
219. *Los Angeles Star*, March 15, 1862.
220. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1862.
221. *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly Southern News*, May 30, 1862.
222. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1826.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

223. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1862.
224. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1862.
225. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1862.
226. *Los Angeles Star*, September 26, 1863.
227. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1863.
228. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1863.
229. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1863.
230. *Palo Verde Valley Times*, June 7, 1934.
231. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 35.
232. *Palo Verde Valley Times*, February 23, 1933.
233. *Ibid.*
234. *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly Southern News*, August 29, 1862.
235. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1862.
236. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 156.
237. Farish, *History of Arizona*. II, 184.
238. *Los Angeles Star*, February 1, 1862.
239. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1862.
240. *Fish Manuscript*. 370.
241. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 253.
242. *Fish Manuscript*. 370.
243. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 504-505.
244. *Ibid.*, 505.
245. *Ibid.*, 507.
246. *Ibid.*, 507.
247. *Ibid.*, 509.
248. Farish, *History of Arizona*, III, 113.
249. *Ibid.*, 121.
250. *Ibid.*
251. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 613.
252. Coy, *California County Boundaries*. 7.
253. *Ibid.*, 207.
254. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 249.
255. *Ibid.*
256. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 511.
257. *Ibid.*, 515.
258. Dellenbaugh, *Breaking the Wilderness*. 321.
259. *Ibid.*, 324.
260. *Ibid.*
261. *Ibid.*, 325.
262. One of Dellenbaugh's most interesting books is, *The Romance of the Colorado River*, in which he describes these journeys in detail.
263. Freeman, *The Colorado River, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. 254.
264. *Ibid.*
265. Colorado River Commission of California, *The Colorado River and the Boulder Canyon Project*. 33.
266. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 43-44.
267. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 545.
268. Named for President Grant and G. W. Dent, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Arizona from 1867-1869.
269. *Palo Verde Valley Times*, March 29, 1934.
270. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 546.
271. *Ibid.*, 546.
272. *Ibid.*, 547.
273. *Ibid.*, 548.
274. *Ibid.*, 550.

Book Reviews

By The Staff

BLACK ROBES IN LOWER CALIFORNIA. By Peter Masten Dunne, S. J. Berkeley. University of California Press, 1952. Pp. X. 540. \$6.50.

This is one volume of a series on the Jesuit Missions of the Mexican-American Frontier area planned by the late Herbert E. Bolton, distinguished Sather Professor of History at Berkeley, who died January 29th, 1953. This story of Baja California should be of value to anyone who appreciates the continuity of history. From its Pious Fund Trust Lower California provided the financial backing for several of Serra's epochical missionary activity in Alta California. In many respects Lower California is the parent of our California, as Arthur North proved 50 years ago in his popular study, *The Mother of California*.

What makes Baja California's history unique is the territory's almost total lack of readily available water resources. The expeditions of Ugarte, Consag and Link are among the most interesting narratives in the book. Their objective was the discovery of water sources. So alarmed were the first settlers by the fear of their missions going dry that one or more missionaries was constantly engaged in hydrological surveys.

However, at spots like San Ignacio and San Javier where water sources were abundant enough to give promise of permanency, no expense was spared in building dams and stone water courses. In these locations the missionaries built those tremendous stone churches — the Cathedrals of the Wilderness — that so astonish today's travelers.

Obviously the settlement or development of a land so barren as Baja California can be accomplished only by the initial outlay of substantial capital. General Abelardo Rodriguez, the present developer of the peninsula, has demonstrated his awareness of this fact by the extensive credit he has extended to cotton growers and

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

fishing canneries. But it is most surprising to learn (p. 41) that back in 1696 even before the first California missionary had left Mexico City, Father Juan Ugarte understood that Baja California would need money in more substantial sums than any other mission ever had. At that early date he made the first collection for the Pious Fund. Later on this foundation met the peculiarly high financial demands of missionary work in California.

This book shows us that foresight and courage can exact a worthwhile living from even this unfavorable land of Lower California. Today's prosperity there is due in considerable measure to Rodriguez. Father Dunne tells of Salvatierra and Juan Ugarte who worked comparable miracles with the economy of Baja California in their day with the view of bringing Christian hope to the Indians.

Among the twelve pictures, the view of the *pueblo* of San Javier is unusual. This village seems as unspoiled and inviting as the old San Ignacio that so enchanted Griffing Bancroft in the 'twenties. — P.C., S.J.

MUSIC IN THE SOUTHWEST (1825-1950). By Howard Swan — Preface by Dr. Robert Glass Cleland. Published by the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California (1952); *ills.* Pp. 316. \$5.00.

A clear and informative musical history of the southwest is found in this book. In sequence Mr. Swan has started from the east and has given a comprehensive delineation of Mormon hymns that they sang from morning until night. Music to the followers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints was their inspiration — "Up, Awake, Ye Defenders of Zion."

The music of the mission *ranchos* and *pueblos* was created to fit the occasion by Padre Naciso Duran, father of California church music. With music and song he urged the Indians to manual labor. The sweet devotional music and hymns were drawn from the inner bosom of the crude Indian by Padre Duran's exalted efforts.

At *el fandango* (the fiesta) the California *ranchero* improvised the music lyrics to fit the person and the place. Folk dances grew into more worldly waltzes and quadrilles.

This book is truly a source document. — A.B.P.

In Appreciation

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, outstanding California historian and Director of the famous Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley (from 1916 to 1940) died on January 30th at the age of 82. Dr. Bolton was long recognized as an authority on the Spanish and Mexican periods of California's history. Many of the younger historians of this State owe their interest in California to Dr. Bolton.

Activities of the Society

MEETING OF JANUARY 27, 1953

Judge Frederick F. Houser, First Vice-President, called the meeting to order. He introduced to members and their friends the speaker of the evening, Dr. John E. Pomfort, director of the Huntington Library and former president of the College of William and Mary at Colonial Williamsburg.

There was a special photographic exhibit of the restored buildings of early Williamsburg loaned to the Society by the Foundation.

Dr. Pomfort went into detail as to the ways and means of the restoration work there. He told of many stirring historical events associated with Williamsburg.

Eight buildings are now in complete restoration:

The Capitol built in 1705; the Public Goal (Colonial Prison) that housed debtors and war prisoners as well as pirates; Raleigh Tavern, Virginia's outstanding Colonial Tavern; Ludwell Paradise House, a town house; George Wythe House, where George Washington had his headquarters; the Governor's Palace, home of the Royal Governor; the Magazine and Guard House, this was erected in 1715; Court House of 1770 now is an Archaeological Museum.

At the urns were Mmes. Edward A. Dickson and Marshall Stimson.

MEETING OF FEBRUARY 24, 1953

Past President Marco R. Newmark extended a welcome to members and friends of the Society. The speaker of the evening, Director Phil Townsend Hanna, was introduced.

Activities of the Society

Following Mr. Hanna's speech, there was a panel discussion on the marking of California's historical shrines. A map of the registered historical sites of California was on exhibit. The panel was led by Mr. Hanna, editor of *Westways*, the monthly publication of the Automobile Club of Southern California. He was assisted by Lowell Butler, art director of *Westways*, and William Webb, special representative of the club.

Mr. Hanna called attention to the fact that there were many historical sites marked but never registered with the state, therefore, these did not show on the colorful map made by the Automobile Club.

Mr. Webb related the trials of connecting the landmark with the road marker, thus making it easier for the traveler to find the historic site.

After a very informative discussion by the panel, Mr. Newmark adjourned the meeting to the refreshment room where Mmes. Marshall Stimson and Edmond F. Ducommun served at the urns.

MEETING OF MARCH 30, 1953

President John C. Austin, presiding, greeted members and friends of the Society. Mr. Austin having been absent for some time was greeted with an applause of welcome.

The speaker of the evening, Ana Begue de Packman, was announced with humor and history. Mrs. de Packman, a fifth generation of California's first colonists, brought to life the customs and hospitality of early California.

With numberless exhibits she demonstrated various recipes made from the homely products of the soil. From the lowly pumpkin she revealed crystalized golden confections. From the corn grain leached into hominy and rubbed into soft dough on the *metaté* (stone grinder), then patted into round flat cakes there was born the tortilla — early California's staff of life. According to the speaker California's life at this time centered around the heavily laden table presided over by a gracious host and hostess.

Coffee was poured by Mmes. Ernest Yorba and Robert R. Borland.

Current Happenings

January 25, 1953:

Judge Russ Avery, 81 died after a long illness. He received his L.L.B. degree from Harvard Law School in 1897. In 1898, he founded the University Club in Los Angeles, and was its President in 1909. He was one of the active leaders in the Lincoln-Roosevelt League movement of 1907. He was a close friend of President Theodore Roosevelt and for a time, in 1912, served as Republican National Committeeman from California. In 1916 he was chairman of the Hughes Alliance, formed to promote the candidacy of Justice Charles E. Hughes for President. He served as Judge of the Superior Court from 1917 to 1925. He was active in many civic, political and cultural organizations.

March 16:

Today was held the formal opening of the Willitts J. Hole Art Gallery in the new Art Building on the U. C. L. A. Campus. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel K. Rindge (Mrs. Rindge was Agnes Hole, daughter of the Willitts J. Holes) were honored guests on this occasion.

Formal inauguration of Dr. Raymond B. Allen as Chancellor of the University of California at Los Angeles took place today. Representatives of 240 universities and colleges participated in the colorful academic procession. Chancellor Allen was formerly President of the University of Washington.

March 25:

En route to Hawaii, as guests of Mr. Edwin W. Pawley, Former President Harry S. Truman was host to twelve of his World War I buddies aboard the S. S. President Cleveland. He is accompanied by Mrs. Truman and their daughter, Margaret.

March 28:

Old Plaza Park plan moves toward fulfillment as Board of Supervisors approves a \$375,000 appropriation toward acquiring needed property — including the old Pico House; the City has appropriated a like amount; and the State Department of Beaches and Parks has set aside \$750,000 to be used for this project.

April 10:

In recognition of conspicuous service to the Church and the community, Pope Pius XII conferred the pontifical decoration of Knight Commander of St. Gregory on the following Los Angeles citizens:

Judge Paul J. McCormick, retired federal jurist; Frank C. Dougherty, a regent of Loyola University; Thomas J. Hickey, a director of the St. Vincent de Paul Society; and Alfred C. Berghoff, retreat movement leader. This decoration was instituted by Pope Gregory XVI in 1831.

Awarded the Cross Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice was Mrs. Charles H. Strub of Pasadena.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Every member of the Society has some historic article that would be welcomed, and THE QUARTERLY sincerely hopes that the names of all our members will be recorded from time to time in the gift column.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,

Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

MISS CATHERINE CARR: Los Angeles High School Annual "IDEA" graduation number of the winter '94.

MAYOR FLETCHER BOWRON: Manuscript containing the story of the first Los Angeles High School built in 1873. This paper was given before Alumni members and their friends at a banquet held at the Statler Hotel recently.

MR. EDWARD A. DICKSON: An Early American Indenture written on vellum and dated 1794. The sheet had been severed irregularly from the other half of the page bearing a duplicate record. One was filed in the recorder's office, the other being retained by the buyer. For proof of record thereafter, the torn halves were matched. Thus, an insurance against fraud.

MR. EDWARD F. DUCOMMUN: A parcel of historic deeds and mortgages on property in the Alanis vineyard tract. One certificate is of the Pioneer Oil Company of Los Angeles and bears a date in the '60's.

FROM A FRIEND OF THE SOCIETY: Contribution of \$25.00.

MR. MANFRED MEYBERG: An historic photograph of the 1894 Fiesta Executive Committee. All personages are identified. Those people were the most outstanding citizens of that day.

MRS. CARROLL S. MORRISON: Five pictorial booklets fully illustrated and containing portraits of officers of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. These run through the years 1948, '49, '50, '51 and '52.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

- MARCO R. NEWMARK: *Los Angeles Times*, Wednesday, August 15, 1945, with banner heading of "Peace! Victory! Japan Surrenders Unconditionally." Also an account Book of H. Newmark and Company under the date of November, 1886, to November, 1887.
- MR. STUART O'MELVENEY: Two photostats of resolutions containing memorials published in the *Chicago Herald* at the passing of an honored citizen of Los Angeles on November 11, 1893, stating "Judge H. K. S. O'Melveney was considered one of the most valued citizens of Los Angeles and his reputation extended throughout California . . ." Such a memorial was adopted and spread upon the minutes of the State Circuit Court and an embossed copy was ordered delivered to the family of the decedent.
- ANA BEGUE DE PACKMAN: Bill of Sale dated July 23, 1840, showing merchandise delivered to Leoncis Miranda for his wife. There were thirty-eight silk head kerchiefs (*camoras*) made in China and eight bolts of figured calico.
- MR. JOHN HENRY PACKMAN: Group photograph showing Los Angeles City employees and Board of Public Works surrounding Mayor Cryer.
- MRS. AUSTIN SCHARF: Book: APRON FULL OF GOLD, taken from a collection of letters written by Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1894-1856. These were edited by Dr. Robert Glass Cleland and published by the Huntington Library.
- MRS. MARSHALL STIMSON: Gift of Personal California Annals Library of the late Marshall Stimson. Many of the books are personally autographed.
- MR. AND MRS. JOHN WOLFSKILL: Photograph of Joseph Wilfskill, an esteemed native son who served on the City Council 1867-1868 and again from 1882-1884. While serving on the Water Preservation Committee, he gave a parcel of land to the Southern Pacific Railway for the purpose of building the Arcade Station at Alameda between Third and Fifth Streets. Also a photograph of the Wolfskill home place in October 3, 1896.

* * * * *

ERRATA IN THE ISSUE OF DECEMBER, 1952

- Page 331 — The name of the English consular representative was C. White Mortimer.
- Page 334 — Judge O'Melveny's name was Harvey K. S. O'Melveny. After he came to Sacramento he was appointed, not to the United States District Court, as one biographical sketch stated, but to a position in the state judiciary (and in 1853 he returned to Illinois where he remained until he came to California).
- Page 335 — Judge McKinley was never a member of the city council.
- Page 342 — James never served as a judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals. This mistake was due to an error in a biographical sketch. The author evidently confused Frank James with Judge William P. James, who served on the California Court of Appeals, 1910-1923, and he was United States District Judge, Southern District of California from March 12, 1923, until his death on July 28, 1940.
- Page 243 — Hunsaker died on January 14, 1933.

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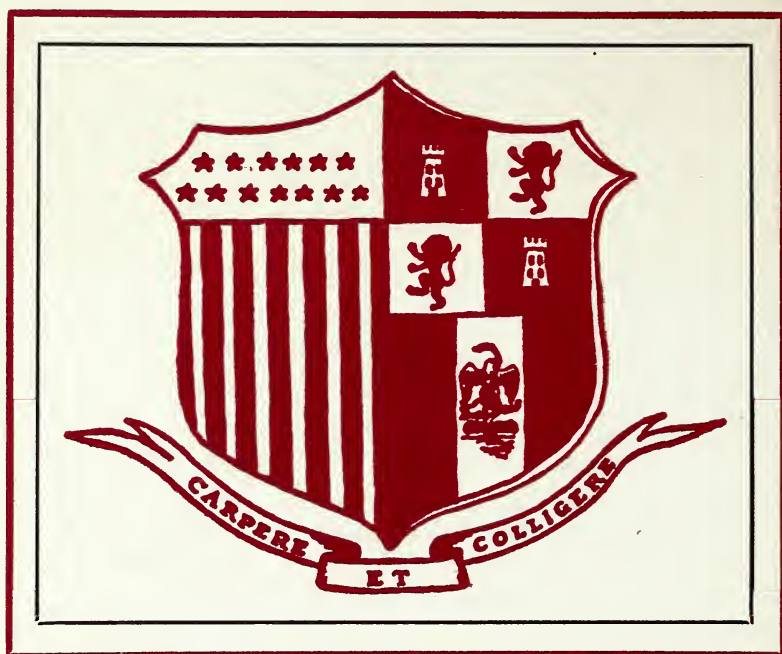
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The
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QUARTERLY

Contents for June, 1953

THE CATTLE TRAIL TO CALIFORNIA 1840 - 1860 - - - - -	99
<i>By Gilbert Cureton</i>	
EARLY PRESIDENTS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY - - - - -	110
<i>By W. F. Montgomery</i>	
AN HISTORIC DOCUMENT - - - - -	113
<i>By Grace A. Somerby</i>	
EARLY GOLD MINING DAYS IN THE SAN GABRIEL CANYON - - - - -	119
<i>By Frank Rolfe</i>	
SUTTER BUTTES: <i>A Geographic Eminence in California History</i> - - - - -	124
<i>By Bernard L. Fontana</i>	
EARLY CALIFORNIA RESORTS - - - - -	129
<i>By Marco R. Newmark</i>	
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (PART VI)	153
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS - - - - -	181
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY - - - - -	185
AN APPRECIATION FROM JOSEPH SCOTT -	189
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY - - - - -	190

Volume XXXV

Number 2



FOUNDED 1883



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for over half a century. Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 this *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published at Los Angeles, California, each March, June, September and December.

The purposes of this Society are to preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest, with particular stress on Southern California; to publish material of permanent historic interest and significance; to assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities; to hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles, except during the summer months, and at least once a year to gather in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

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* * * * *

Address articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY, and general Society correspondence to:

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The
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CONTENTS:

THE CATTLE TRAIL TO CALIFORNIA 1840 - 1860	-	-	99
<i>By Gilbert Cureton</i>			
EARLY PRESIDENTS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY -	-	-	110
<i>By W. F. Montgomery</i>			
AN HISTORIC DOCUMENT -	-	-	113
<i>By Grace A. Somerby</i>			
EARLY GOLD MINING DAYS IN THE			
SAN GABRIEL CANYON -	-	-	119
<i>By Frank Rolfe</i>			
SUTTER BUTTES:			
<i>A Geographic Eminence in California History</i>	-	-	124
<i>By Bernard L. Fontana</i>			
EARLY CALIFORNIA RESORTS -	-	-	129
<i>By Marco R. Newmark</i>			
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (PART VI)	-	-	153
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>			
BOOK REVIEWS	-	-	181
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY	-	-	185
AN APPRECIATION FROM JOSEPH SCOTT	-	-	189
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	-	-	190

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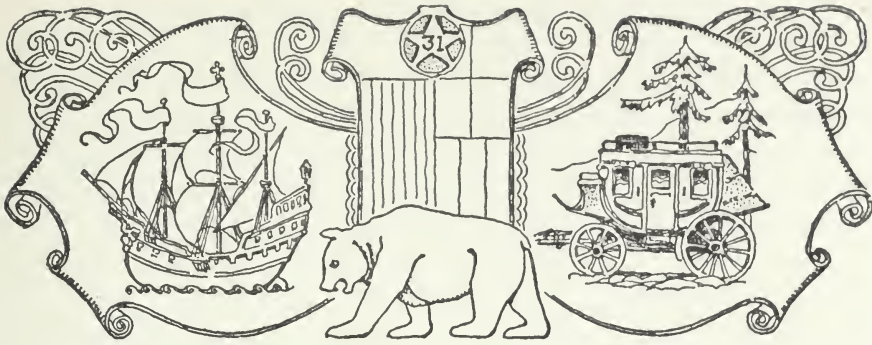
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for June, 1953

The Cattle Trail to California

1840-1860

By Gilbert Cureton

DISCUSSION OF TRAILING CATTLE to California in the two decades centering on 1850 is often met with a "carrying coals to Newcastle" attitude. Yet in those years¹ hundreds of thousands of bovines were brought into the state to furnish transportation, food, motive power for plows and wagons, and to improve the herds of half-wild Spanish cattle.

The monetary value of the animals as beeves and as work stock,² the stimulus given to road building, and the economic and social results of such a movement show that the importation was of great importance. Little mention is made of this forced migration of *bos taurus* by any standard economic history of the United States. Few state histories have any reference to cattle drives which were of economic value to western Missouri, western Arkansas, Indian Territory, central and southwestern Texas, north central and south-

western New Mexico, Sonora, northeastern Utah, and central-north-western Oregon.

The aims of this study are: (1) to ascertain approximately how many cattle were transported to California in the years between 1840 and 1860, (2) to show the reasons for driving of cattle to California, (3) to discuss the individuals who drove cattle to the gold regions, (4) to tell something of the hardships encountered on the overland trail by the emigrants who brought cattle westward, (5) to give a brief survey of the trails used by the cattle drivers in their transportation of bovines to the West Coast, and (6) to show the economical, social, and political changes caused by the migration of tangible items of commerce from other areas to California.

How many cattle came to California overland or by sea before, during, and after the Gold Rush is anybody's guess. The total number includes work oxen, milch cows, beef steers, and blue-ribbon animals used for herd improvement. All records of transportation of cattle to the state could not be checked by the writer. Nor was all such transportation recorded. A partial and very conservative estimate (made by using all mention of cattle actually recorded as being brought into California — in available accounts — and the estimates of such men as Governor Bigler who used ferry and checking station records) would place the number of bovine emigrants at well over the half-million mark.

The *United States Census* (California Section) for 1860 gives the number of oxen for the year 1850 as 4,780, for milch cows, 4,280; and other stock cattle 253,599. By 1860, the number of oxen had increased to 26,004, the number of milch cows was 205,407, and other cattle numbered 948,731.³ This great rise in the total number of cattle in California cannot be credited to natural increase because droughts and the heavy demand for beef had cut heavily into the cattle herds of California. Therefore, it can be concluded that the horned migrants were responsible to a great degree for the rise of the total number of cattle in California.

Reasons for cattle being driven to California may be listed under the headings of transportation, subsistence, agriculture, and speculation. Some parts of the above general break-down of the subject overlap. A case in point is that of the milch cow. Milch

The Cattle Trail to California, 1840-1860

cows were sometimes used to drive stock as one would use a saddle horse, they were sometimes eaten, at other times they were yoked to wagons, they were used to produce milk, butter and cheese (subsistence items) which is agricultural, and men could speculate in the sale, keeping, or marketing of the animals.

First and immediate reason for bringing cattle to California was to furnish a cheap form of overland transportation from the more settled areas of the United States. Oxen, as the draft type of bovines is called, first came to California from the East with the Bidwell-Bartleson party of 1841. These oxen, however, became subsistence soon after the party crossed the California boundary.⁴ Other small bodies of would-be settlers arrived up to the time of the Gold Rush, including the ill-fated Donner party.⁵

Oxen furnished means by which a majority of the gold-seekers reached the new Eldorado overland. Oregon men came to the gold fields in the fall of 1848 with ox teams.⁶ Then in the late summer of 1849, the Gold Rush reached California. Most of the emigrants came through without much trouble. Others, like the Kansas Jayhawkers, lost most of their possessions.⁷

Records indicate that the years 1850 and 1852 saw almost as many migrants to California as did the Gold Rush year of 1849. Oxen continued to be used on the overland route until the railroad came in 1869.

Once in California, the oxen were used to pull freight wagons in the less rugged areas of the state. The native oxen were not large or strong and were few in number (probably two or three yoke to each great *rancho*).

The second most important motive for the transportation of cattle to California was to take advantage of the market created by a demand for beef. This market centered in the cities of Sacramento and San Francisco and in the Mother Lode country. From an estimated population of 15,000 (exclusive of Indians) in 1848,⁸ the population of California had jumped to 92,597 in 1850 and to 379,994 in 1860.⁹ Cattle once worthless for anything but hides and tallow and selling for no more than two dollars became worth \$300 to \$500 during the first year of the gold stampede.¹⁰ This abnormal upswing of prices caused competition to develop for the native

cattle owners. When the word filtered back to Texas and to the settlements along the Missouri River, enterprising men started herds of cattle, cheap in these areas, toward the hungry miners of the gold fields.

T. Butler King, in his report to John M. Clayton, Secretary of State estimated that the need for cattle would be 60,000 head in 1850, and 260,000 in 1854.¹¹ He based his estimate on the assumption that there were 120,000 people in California in 1850 and that the population would rise to 520,000 in 1854. His report estimated one-half a beef per year per person.

In addition to the demand for beef, there arose a market for milk, cheese, and butter. No figures can be found on the amount of milk produced in any of the years under study. The production of butter rose from 705 pounds in 1850 to 3,095,035 pounds in 1860; while the output of cheese was 150 pounds in 1850 with an increase to 1,343,689 in 1860. The figure given for the number of milch cows in the state in 1850 probably included many of the Spanish-California type which gave but little milk. Value of livestock in California rose from \$3,351,058 in 1850 to \$35,565,000 in 1860. This compilation includes value of horses, sheep, swine, and goats in addition to the higher valued cattle.¹²

Third important reason for the bringing of cattle across the plains or by sea to California was to establish agriculture on a large scale in the state. The local oxen, though tough and wiry, were not strong enough or properly harnessed (they pulled by a horn yoke) for pulling heavy plows and farm wagons. Oxen increased from 4,780 in 1850 to 26,004 in 1860. This was at a time when no one in California had time to train animals for such work.¹³ The dairy industry, already discussed under subsistence, was a part of this expansion of the "State's" type of agriculture.

The fourth reason for cattle being trailed to California was that of speculation. "Cattle afforded a fine field . . . and some men found it more profitable than gold digging." One writer of the time states:

The driving of cattle to California from Texas, as long as the market prices permit, is likely to be of increasing importance, as the hazard of much loss is small and the profits are often large.¹⁵

The Cattle Trail to California, 1840-1860

The *Colorado* (Texas) *Tribune* of July 21, 1854, observed:

“The speculation of driving beef cattle from our state to California still continues, and doubtless a regular trade will be made of it for some years to come.”¹⁶

The idea of driving cattle — mostly beef or work oxen — to California spread the length of the inland frontier. From San Antonio to Milwaukee, the edge of the settlements prepared to send herds to the land of gold. Oxen were driven from nearly all parts of the Mississippi Valley and the Texas coast. Herds were trailed from the Omaha area, from Missouri towns near present-day Kansas City, from the Little Rock-Fort Smith area, from the Indian Nations, as well as from New Mexico, Sonora, Utah and Oregon. Milch cows and thoroughbred animals were also driven across the region from the Mississippi Valley to the California valleys.¹⁷

Who drove cattle to California?

*“Rich man, poor man, beggerman, thief;
Doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief.”*

. . . and mountain men, soldiers, slaves, women, children and Indians.

The story of Jacob Donner and his well-equipped train of well-to-do people, poor men and near-beggars is well known.¹⁸

Dr. Thomas Flint was in charge of a large herd of cattle and other livestock on a trip across the plains.¹⁹ Cattle owners, merchants, lawyers, and others helped drive oxen and steers across the plains. Captains of caravans often drove their own teams.

Mountain men, soldiers, and Delaware Indians helped drive the little herd of Oregon beef cattle that John C. Frémont brought down into the California Lava Beds early in 1844.²⁰ Cherokee Indians drove trail herds from the banks of the Canadian River. New Mexico and California Indians were with some of the caravans and with some of the trail herds. Yaqui and Papago Indians from Sonora and Arizona helped with drives across the Colorado River at Yuma.

Women and children helped drive the oxen hitched to the wagons and the loose herd of extra oxen and milch cows. No record

has been found where they helped with any sizeable trail herd.

The Mormons sent a train from Salt Lake to San Bernardino in June of 1851. This organization was composed of 437 men, women and children, had 150 wagons, 588 oxen, 336 cows, 21 young stock, 107 horses and 52 mules.²¹

Writers of popular accounts become enthusiastic over some of the events of the migration of people and cattle to California. Their accounts give something about the men involved and about the trails and their dangers. However, sometimes, due to lack of checking, false impressions are given. A case in point deals with the drivers who chose:

The so-called "Southern Route" . . . but men with a lingering prejudice in favor of preserving the hair on their heads usually avoided it. Athwart that trail lay the Apaches and the scalp sat loose on the skull of the man with temerity to travel it. Even so a few Texas drovers had the cold nerve to make the attempt. One of them was Captain Jack Cureton of the Texas Rangers, accompanied by his son, W. E. Cureton. They formed an outfit which took eleven hundred longhorns over the Rio Grande at Albuquerque, followed the Little Colorado River across part of Arizona, then out across California, where they trailed the herd up the barren eastern escarpment of the mountains to a pass across the Sierra Nevadas into California's lush pastures. Captain Cureton paid ten dollars a head for his longhorns in Texas, and sold them for thirty dollars a head in California. That gave him a neat profit even after deducting strays and deaths among his cattle, but most men — even Texans — were willing to yield to him the exclusive right to the route as long as Mangas Coloradas, Cuchillo Negro, Deladito, and the rest of the Apaches cared to dispute its use. Some few who did not subscribe to this feeling salted the desert with their bones.²²

Accounts do not agree in the case of Captain Cureton. One of the latest books published in the field of study on the cattle industry "plays up" this trip to California in 1849 when the Captain sold his 1,100 steers.²³ However, according to a record of the trail drovers of Texas, he made his first trip to California in 1852 from Ozark, Arkansas.²⁴ The trip was probably across the Indian Territory to Albuquerque and westward because he followed this same way in 1869. His son, W. E., second in the family, if the first report be true, might have been three years old. And, the statement about the

The Cattle Trail to California, 1840-1860

Apaches could be questioned as they did not frequent the high plains of north Texas or the Little Colorado River Valley.

A few of the individuals who were instrumental in driving cattle to California were: Lorenzo D. Aldrich, Joel Barnett, James G. Bell, John Bidwell, Patrick Breen, John W. Brier, Edwin Bryant, James Campbell, Michael Dawson, Alonzo Delano, Dan Drumheller, John Ellenbecker, Thomas Flint, John C. Frémont, J. W. Gibson, Samuel Hancock, Eliza P. Donner Houghton, Nancy A. Hunt, Chester Ingersoll, David R. Leeper, W. L. Manly, William A. Maxwell, Charles E. Pancoast, Joseph Price, George W. Read, Sarah Royce, Lorenzo Sawyer, R. C. Shaw, John Steele, William A. Trubody, T. J. Trimmier, Walter Van Dyke, and Susan Wilson.²⁵ The above list includes people who brought but a yoke of oxen to California and men who conducted cattle drives of several thousand head. Some of the people listed above are known for things other than their association with the so-called dumb brutes. Manly, Brier, and Ellenbecker were with the party which named Death Valley. Mrs. Houghton and Patrick Breen survived the terrible experiences at Donner Lake.

The hardships encountered by the trailers of cattle to California were many. Smallpox, cholera, measles, and scurvy were common. Other dangers lay in starvation, floods, storms, rattlesnakes, stampedes, rolling rocks, desert sun, and conflict with members of the caravans, with thieves, or with Indians. The emigrants who depended upon oxen faced the danger of their animals giving out from overwork or having them stolen by Indians or white outlaws. Arthur B. Hulbert in his study: *FORTY NINERS*, a composite diary compiled from actual accounts, gives an insight into emigrant experiences on the Overland. The book also has a good map of the northern trail.²⁶

Two main overland trails with numerous branches served for trailing cattle to California. The first of these, the Northern Route began usually along the Missouri River but had branches along the Arkansas River. In general, the route followed the Platte River across Kansas and Nebraska into Wyoming and then either through Idaho to Oregon and down into California or cut across Utah and Nevada to the gold regions of the north or to Los Angeles.

The second route had branches beginning on the Missouri, the Arkansas, the Red, and in the San Antonio region of Texas. Generally, the routes converged west of present-day El Paso and crossed Arizona by way of the Gila River to Fort Yuma on the California shore of the Colorado. A variant led from the Missouri or Arkansas across the plains to Albuquerque and then straight across to California via north Arizona. Another trail which the Texas drovers used began at San Antonio, crossed to the Rio Grande and followed it up and across the mountains into Wyoming to the Northern or Oregon trail and thence by way of the Klamath River to the gold fields. Shortest trail over which cattle were driven, outside of the easy one down from near Portland in Oregon, was the trail from northern Sonora *via* Tucson and down the Gila to California.

Little information can be secured in regard to the shipments of cattle by boat from Oregon or up the coast of Mexico. Thomas Diblee of Santa Barbara early imported blooded cattle around the wind-swept reaches of Cape Horn.²⁷

The economic influence of the migration of cattle to California was great. Material wealth was added to the total for the state, transportation was furthered by the incoming of trained oxen, road-building was fostered in the non-mountainous areas, stimulus was given to agriculture by way of sufficient motive power, new industries were started such as that of the dairy and the growing of improved beef types. The coming of the cattle opened new needs for employment on the farms for laborers, workers in cheese-making, bull whackers for the freight business, and ranch hands who understood the methods used in Texas or Illinois.

There were several influences which remain almost unnoticed. Robert G. Cleland in his study of the cattle industry in California places the beginning of the financial ruin of the native ranch owners with the coming of the cattle, especially the beef steers.²⁸ The presence of an abundant supply of food such as herds of cattle allowed the miners more time to devote to gold-mining and thus added to the extra-ordinary total of gold mined.

Changes from a social view-point were great. "The California *vaquero* was 'strong on pretty' (liked to decorate his saddle and himself with silver and other ornaments) and so destined to lose out to

The Cattle Trail to California, 1840-1860

the more business-like cow-puncher.”²⁹ The cow-punchers, mostly Texans, took over the whole range country, showed new tricks in handling cattle, in riding, and roping and revolutionized the business. “With them cow-punching was straight work without any fancy artistic attachments.”

Political influence of the coming of cattle was that the drovers who settled in California and the speculators in cattle ended to ally themselves with the *ranchero* element and to fight laws injurious to the cattle owners, particularly the grower of beef. And, in a minor way, the cattle had an influence on folklore and custom for we know about:

... *Sweet Betsy from Pike*
Who crossed the big mountains with her lover Ike,
With two yoke of cattle, a large yellow dog,
A tall Shanghai rooster and one spotted hog.

And the soldiers at Camp Drum near Los Angeles in Civil War days had something to say about a beef the commissary had issued. This bit of subsistence is supposed to have crossed the plains in the Gold Rush days.³⁰

In conclusion, it may be said that the more than one-half million cattle which came to California between 1840 and 1860 came to supply a need for transportation, a market for subsistence, to aid in the beginning of new industries, because of speculation. The influence of this migration was felt in the labor field, in agriculture, in the customs of the state, in politics, and even in folklore.

NOTES :

1. “The number [of cattle] which arrived within the last year by the overland route, is . . . sixty-one thousand four hundred and sixty-two.” See State of California, *Journal of the Sixth Session of the Legislature of the State of California* (Sacramento: California State Government, 1855), p. 43. Reported in the message of Governor John Bigler in January, 1855; see also *Daily Alta California*, August 10, 1853, p. 2, c. 2.
2. Before the gold discovery a full-grown animal was worth about two dollars. In March of 1850 beef cattle were worth from “\$20.00 to \$30.00 per head . . .” See Report of T. Butler King as quoted by Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 349.
3. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, complr., *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. CXV, CXVII.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

4. John Bidwell, *In California Before the Gold Rush* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1948), p. 46.
5. Patrick Breen, *Diary of* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1946); Virginia R. Murphy, *Across the Plains in the Donner Party*, the *Century Magazine*, XLII, No. 3 (July 1891), pp. 409-426; Bernard De Voto, *The Year of Decision: 1848* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1943), pp. 341-358, 421-444.
6. Samuel Hancock, *Narrative of* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1937); Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), p. 60.
7. John G. Ellenbacker, *Jayhawkers of Death Valley* (Marysville, Kansas: 1938).
8. Julia C. Altrocchi, *The Old California Trail* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945), p. 19.
9. J. D. B. De Bow, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1853), p. 969; Joseph C. G. Kennedy, complr., *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 28.
10. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), p. 54.
11. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 349.
12. Joseph C. G. Kennedy, complr., *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864) pp. LXXXII, CXXVI.
13. *Ibid.*, p. CXVII
14. Clara M. Love, *History of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XIX, No. 4 (April 1916), p. 375.
15. Frederick L. Olmstead, *A Journey Through Texas* (New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1857), p. 274.
16. J. Evetts Haley, *A Log of The Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXV, No. 3 (January, 1932), p. 209.
17. Osgood Hardy, *Economic Aspects of the Gold Age in California*, Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association for 1927, P. 142.
18. Bernard De Voto, *The Year of Decision: 1848* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943).
19. Waldemar Westergaard, ed., *Diary of Dr. Thomas Flint, California to Maine and Return, 1851-1855*, *Annual Publication, Historical Society of Southern California*, 1923.
20. John C. Frémont, *Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon, and California* (Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1854), p. 272.
21. Leland H. Greer, *The Founding of An Empire* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake City Book Craft, 1947), p. 365.
22. Paul I. Wellman, *The Trampling Herd* (New York: Carrick & Evans, Inc., 1939), p. 60.
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Early Presidents of the Historical Society

By W. F. Montgomery

*I*t has been the writer's good fortune to have enjoyed the friendship not only Col. J. J. Warner, the first president of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, but also of Professor Ira More and Major E. W. Jones, his successors, each of whom held important positions in the community.

When I first arrived in Los Angeles in 1885 I had a letter of introduction to Col. Warner from a relative, which I presented to him at his office in the old Temple Block. Col. Warner was then in his seventy-eighth year, and his only activity was that of a notary public. He had the air of a Spanish Don, and received me cordially. When he learned that I was looking for a job in the lumber business he said that he would be glad to introduce me to some of the lumber dealers, and in spite of his partial blindness he walked with me to the office of the Perry-Mott Lumber Co. on Commercial Street, where I met W. H. Perry and Mr. Stephen Mott. He also accompanied me to the J. M. Griffith Co. on Alameda Street, where I had my first contact with Mr. Griffith.

Col. Warner was then living in his old *adobe* house on Main Street near Sixth where he had at one time owned six acres of land, covering the ground now occupied by the Burbank Theatre, the Kerckhoff Block, and The Pacific Electric building, here he lived with his daughter, Mrs. Rubio and her family until they moved to a location in the western part of Los Angeles. He died there in 1895.

Early Presidents of the Historical Society

Warner was born in Lyme, Connecticut, in 1807, and left there on a trip West in 1830 in search of health and adventure. At St. Louis he joined a beaver-trapping party headed by Jedediah Smith. He spent nearly a year trapping before arriving in Southern California in 1831 — making him one of the first settlers from the eastern states.

Col. Warner lived first in Los Angeles for a number of years working for Able Stearns and John Temple and others, and he took an active life in civic affairs. He later moved to San Diego and in 1837 was married to Anita Gale, the ceremony being performed at Mission San Luis Rey. She was the daughter of an English sea captain, William Allen Gale, who had brought her, at the age of five, from Honolulu and left her in the care of the mother of Governor Pio Pico, with whom she made her home till she was married.

Col. Warner took an active part in the development of San Diego, being elected state senator, serving from 1850 to 1852. In 1843, he acquired the 40,000 acres of land in eastern San Diego County, known as "Warner's" where he lived until 1855 — when, because of trouble with the Indians and the health of his wife, he moved to Los Angeles and lived there until the end of his long life.

Among his many activities, he published a semi-weekly paper called the *California Vineyard* — from 1858 to 1860. Mrs. Warner died in Los Angeles in 1859. They had five children, Isabella, Mary Ann, Conception, Andrew and John.

* * *

Professor Ira More was president of the Historical Society in 1887 and also in 1892. He was a native of Maine, born in 1829, and graduated from Yale University in 1855.

He served for three years in the Civil War, gaining the rank of Captain and was cited for valor on many battle fields.

Before coming to Los Angeles Professor More held positions in different cities including San Diego, where he was principal of schools from 1875 to 1893. He next took the position of principal

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

of the State Normal School in Los Angeles for about ten years. Upon his retirement he operated a small ranch near Cucamonga until his death several years later. He was a genial and kindly gentleman, as any of the normal school associates and alumni of the school will recall. Mrs. More was equally prominent in local affairs, being a leading member of the W. T. C. U. She aided in the locating and building of a fine headquarters for that organization on Temple and Hill Streets.

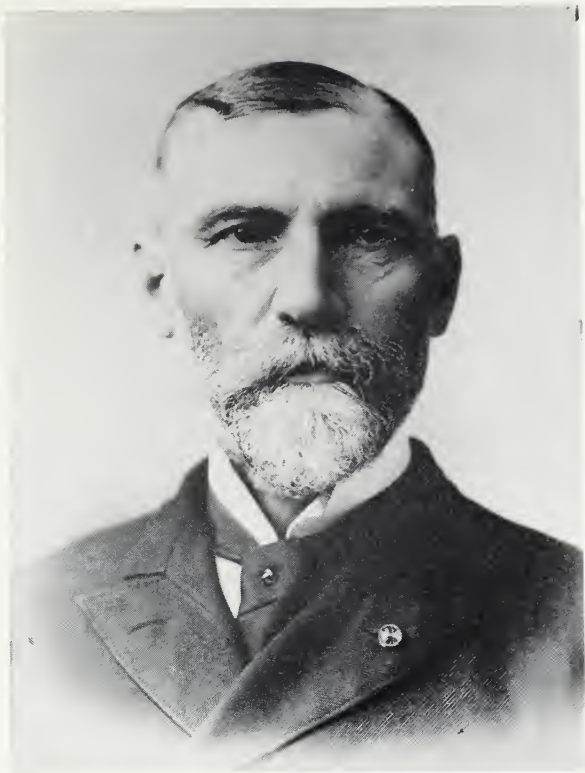
A daughter, Kate More Wells, married a sugar planter in Hawaii, a son, Ira, Jr., operated a ranch in Orange County.

* * *

Major E. W. Jones is the third member of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, who was on the board of directors and was president in the year 1889 — also in 1893. He served in the Civil War, came to Los Angeles in the 1880's, and was a retired capitalist. He invested largely in Los Angeles and suburban properties.

Major Jones not only served as one of the first presidents of the *Historical Society of Southern California*, and was on the Library Board, but was the second president of the *Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce*, serving in the years 1888-1891. His beautiful home on West Seventh Street, in the Westlake district, was a social center. Here the family entertained lavishly, assisted by a son, Condry Jones, and two daughters.





— Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Photo.

MAJOR E. W. JONES



W. F. MONTGOMERY,

Pioneer lumber dealer, came to California in 1882; he was partner of Mr. Mullin in the Montgomery and Mullin Lumber Company from 1901 to 1918; lives in Santa Ana and is enjoying rugged health at past the age of ninety.

His Excellency, Peter A. Burnett, Governor
of the State of California

Sir: The undersigned would respectfully state that at the election held on the 1st inst. in the County of Los Angeles, they were elected to the several offices respectively mentioned, but, in the absence of any laws, it has been found impracticable to organize the courts, or otherwise enter upon the discharge of their duties. It is of the highest importance, that this large and flourishing county should not remain in uncertainty as to the laws governing it, all its business neglected, its improvement unceasing, and the prey to many evils arising from its peculiar position in reference to the stream of emigration, foreign and otherwise, now pouring through it, in the direction of the mines. We would respectfully ask your Excellency for some suitable instructions, which, it has been thought, might be so arranged as to remedy the most pressing difficulties - comprising a review of the duty of the County Judge elect, in reference to the first election of Justices of the Peace & making the bonds of other County officers, a copy of the Revenue and Criminal laws, & such suggestions as your Excellency may deem calculated to procure a speedy organization of this county under the authority of the State. We believe some such steps will greatly promote the public interest, as well as tend to the better securing private rights, and beg leave to request a speedy answer from your Excellency.

We have the honor to be, your obedient servants

Agustín Olvera, County Judge elect
Ignacio del Valle, Recorder
Antonio G. Coronel, Assessor
Manuel Gacias, Treasurer
Benito D. Wilson, Clerk
George T. Merrill, Sheriff
Benjamin Hayes, County Attorney
J. M. Conway, Surveyor

Pueblo de los Angeles
April 24th, 1850

An Historic Document

By Grace A. Somerby

*A*n interesting and curious historical document, in the form of a petition to California's first Governor, bearing the date of April 20, 1850, paints a picture of local conditions of that day with vivid brush strokes.

California at this time was not actually a state, although prior to this petition the inhabitants here were exercising all the functions of a state; the first Governor, Peter H. Burnett, had been elected, as well as a Legislature and two United States Senators. It was not until many weeks of monotonous deadlock in Congress that the bill for California's admission was put through the United States Senate, on August 13, 1850, with a vote of 38 to 14. On September 7, the House ratified the measure by 150 to 56. On September 9, 1850, President Fillmore affixed his signature to the bill welcoming California into the sisterhood of states. William H. Seward described California enthusiastically as "the youthful queen of the Pacific, in robes of freedom gorgeously inlaid with gold," the thirty-first State of the Union.

Thus it was that for half-a-year California was in the twilight zone of official government.

Faced with very serious problems of maintaining some semblance of peace and order in the *pueblo* of Los Angeles, the local officials, elected under pre-state authority, had a difficult time determining just what they could do legally. In seeking to work out solutions to their problems of enforcing civic discipline, a group of public officials wrote to Governor Burnett — the document accompanying this article.

While northern California was furiously booming, and innumerable towns had sprung up around all the prosperous gold

mines, Southern California was affected but adversely by "the stream of emigration, foreign or otherwise, now pouring through it in the direction of the mines."

Many of the fortune seekers who came across mountains, up from Mexico, or by sea, were penniless and desperate when they reached Los Angeles, and their presence here was accompanied, far too often, by crime and violence.

During the transition years — 1847 to 1849 — there had been stationed at Los Angeles from 300 to 1,000 American soldiers who sought to maintain some degree of control in the midst of the confusion and strife. The better Spanish and Mexican families of the Southland respected the new regime that was in power, even to the point of becoming supporters in behalf of it. For instance, at the Constitutional Convention held at Monterey in 1849, the native representatives, J. A. Carrillo and Manuel Dominguez, were chosen delegates from Los Angeles, together with the Americans, S. C. Foster, Abel Stearns and Hugo Reid, of San Gabriel. These men cooperated in this tremendous work with such intelligence and understanding as to win the admiration of their colleagues.

Under Spanish and Mexican rule, Los Angeles had been the most important and largest city of California, and for a time had been the capital. But under the American rule, things were far different. Yerba Buena (later San Francisco), with approximately 1,000 population, suddenly became the center of a veritable torrent of immigration, due to the gold discovery. In 1849, an influx of 80,000 brought California population up to well over 100,000, most of which concentrated in the north. By the end of 1850, it was estimated that \$90,000,000 in gold had been harvested, and men of every description from all parts of the world continued to pour into California.

By this upheaval Los Angeles was relegated into comparative obscurity, as one after another northern towns, teeming with excitement and stimulated by new riches, mushroomed into being. Widespread lawlessness, inability and unrest tagged the footsteps of the conglomeration of treasure seekers. Los Angeles was far enough away to be an especially vulnerable spot for the frustrated and the unequipped; for more than a decade it was notoriously a crime-

An Historic Document

infested, tough village where murder, lynching and thieving were common happenings every week, if not every day.

There were, of course, men of the completely opposite element, who refused to accept the prevailing disorder, constructive and able men who might have been leaders in any land and in any age. They set about to find a foothold for law in the city's sordid existence.

The first election in Los Angeles County took place April 1, 1850. As one of the twenty-seven counties into which California was originally divided by California's first Legislature, Los Angeles County then included within its boundaries part of the present Kern County, all of the present San Bernardino County, part of the present Riverside County, and all of the present Los Angeles and Orange Counties. It included practically all of the country north of old San Diego County to the Tehachapi range, from the ocean to the Colorado River, except Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties — then Santa Barbara County. Los Angeles County was the most important of the "cow counties," as the southern part of the State was then deridingly labelled by the north.

At this county election several of the strongest men of the day were placed in office. No doubt, they gathered at the home of Don Ignacio del Valle, as they usually did when matters of importance were to be considered, to think over a practical plan for bringing law and order to the community. There must be a recognized authority for the law, they decided, and a petition to the Governor asking for instructions as to what to do to place the local law enforcement groups under the uniform authority of the State of California was formulated. This petition, bearing the signatures of the new office holders — pioneers to whom Los Angeles owes so much — was the result of their conference:

*To His Excellency
Peter H. Burnett, Governor
of the State of California.*

Sir: The undersigned would respectfully state that at the election held on the 1st inst., in the County of Los Angeles, they were elected to the several offices respectively mentioned, but, in the absence of any laws, it has been found impracticable to organize the courts, or otherwise enter upon the discharge of their duties.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Yet it is of the highest importance that this large and flourishing county should not remain in uncertainty as to the laws governing it, all its business neglected, its improvement uncared for, and prey to many evils arising from its peculiar position in reference to the stream of emigration, foreign and otherwise, now pouring through it, in the direction of the mines.

We would respectfully ask your Excellency for some suitable instructions, which, it has been thought, might be so arranged as to remedy the most pressing difficulties — comprising a view of the duty of the County Judge elect, in reference to the first election of Justices of the Peace and taking the bonds of other county officers, a copy of the revenue and criminal laws and such suggestions as your Excellency may deem calculated to procure a speedy organization of this county under the authority of the State.

We believe some such step will greatly promote the public interest, as well as tend to the better securing private rights, and beg leave to request a speedy answer from your Excellency.

We have the honor to be your obt. serts.

AUGUSTIN OLVERA, *County Judge Elect*
IGNACIO del VALLE, *Recorder*
ANTONIO F. CORONEL, *Assessor*
MANUEL GARFIAS, *Treasurer*
BENITO D. WILSON, *Clerk*
GEORGE T. BURRILL, *Sheriff*
BENJAMIN HAYES, *County Attorney*
J. R. CONWAY, *Surveyor*

*Pueblo de Los Angeles,
April 25th, 1850.*

The names affixed to this unique historical document are well-known to everyone interested in the history of our city and county. At the time it was written — more than one hundred years ago — these men were young, alert, progressive.

Augustin Olvera, County Judge Elect, was thirty years of age. Born in Mexico, he had been living in California since 1834. He took an active interest in the community under Mexican rule; later, he had protested admission of California as a State under American rule, believing that taxes would ruin the cattle-raising populace of the Southland. He was one of the more substantial citizens of his day, recording his worth as \$10,000 in 1850. That year he was

An Historic Document

elected to the office of County Judge. Olvera Street, off the Plaza perpetuates his memory today.

Ignacio del Valle, Recorder, at 42 in 1850, was the oldest member of the group. An affluent gentleman possessed of \$6,500 at that time, he had come from Mexico in 1825, the son of Lieut. Antonio del Valle, who served under the King of Spain. The del Valles were a family of culture, intelligence, property and influence. Don Ignacio's descendants were a son, R. F. del Valle, one-time California State Senator, prominent in Los Angeles civic life, and a granddaughter, Mrs. Lucretia del Valle Grady, wife of the former U. S. Ambassador to Greece, Henry F. Grady.

Antonio F. Coronel, elected to the office of County Assessor, was 32, a successful merchant — worth \$8,000. His family, too, was from Mexico City. In 1853, he was elected Mayor of Los Angeles.

Manuel Garfias, County Treasurer, 30, was an agriculturist worth \$7,000. He was a native of Mexico and once the owner of the princely *San Pasqual Rancho*.

Benito D. Wilson, elected County Clerk, a native of Tennessee, was 39 years of age. A merchant worth a fabulous \$50,000, he has been called the "pioneer of pioneers." He was the grandfather of the late General George S. Patton, Jr.

George T. Burrill, sheriff, was 40, a native of Rhode Island — a man of soldierly bearing who proved himself an efficient and conscientious officer.

Benjamin Hayes, 35, was a lawyer, of ability from Baltimore, Maryland. In 1850 he was elected County Attorney. No record of the surveyor, J. R. Conway, is available.

These young men were strong and fearless. The challenge of the times often called for justice meted out in harsh and bitter doses; it was only justice that could be effective and understandable in that day. Sometimes, in dealing with the endless scrapes of the Indians, it was "tempered with mercy," for they were but ignorant savages for the most part.

When this document was signed, a single paid Marshal, with the aid of deputy civilians as he needed them, maintained such law and order as then prevailed.

A century of efforts toward maintaining law and order have fol-

lowed Governor Burnett's reply to this petition. Problems have changed and multiplied, but human nature has not greatly changed. Multiple fears still drive the weak to seek a violent solution of their difficulties. In a county of 4,650,000 population, the cost of enforcing the law now runs into hundreds of millions.

Los Angeles County has a Sheriff's personnel of more than 1,600 today; but in addition, forty-five incorporated cities in the County have their own police departments. The Sheriff's office is operated on a budget of approximately \$7,000,000 annually.

In Los Angeles city about 4,500 policemen are employed to keep order, at a cost of about \$20,000,000 annually. In addition, there are staggering costs for equipment, buildings, civilian personnel, care of prisoners, automobiles, etc.

These hoards of wealth are being poured out in 1953 for a better Los Angeles. How amazed our little group back in 1850 would have been by such figures.



Early Gold Mining Days *in the* San Gabriel Canyon

By Frank Rolfe

While no great amount of gold was recovered from the bars of the Kern River, when the great rush to that stream took place in 1855, this stampede gave a decided impulse to the economic development of Los Angeles and Southern California. It gave to San Pedro its first great passenger trade; brought to our *cuidad* some of the standing as an outfitting point for the mines that Sacramento and Stockton had been noted for; proved the foresight of the citizens who, having in view the growing importance of a road to the San Joaquin, had raised \$6,000 the year before for the improvement of the highway over Tejon Pass which again became alive with wagons and pack trains. A horde of trained prospectors, some of whom had hurried through this territory while on their way to the northern mines in 1849, returned to seek out its mineral wealth and to fall victim to the lure of climate.

As a result of the courage of the early prospectors, many southern canyons joined with the few worked in Mexican times in the production of gold. A little later the desert became noted for its production of silver, and the great mineral wealth of Arizona became known. The prospectors were setting the stage for the marvelous development of the south that was soon to follow.

Of the early mining days in this canyon Guinn says:

A party of prospectors in April, 1855, entering the mountains by way of Cajon Pass penetrated to the headwaters of the San Gabriel River

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

and found good prospects. Captain Hammager with a company of prospectors the same year went up the canyon and discovered diggings that panned out \$5.00 to \$6.00 a day.

During the summer of 1859 the canyon of the San Gabriel was prospected for forty miles and some rich placer claims located. On some bars as high as \$8.00 to the pan was obtained. The correspondent of the *Los Angeles Star* reports these strikes: "Two Mexicans with a common bowl or *batea* panned out \$90.00 in two days. From a hill claim four men took out \$80.00 in one day. Two hydraulic companies are taking out \$1,000 a week" . . . Three stores at Eldoradoville, the chief mining camp of the canyon, supply the miners with the necessities of life . . .

In the spring of 1862, Wells, Fargo and Co., were shipping to San Francisco from their Los Angeles office \$12,000 a month by steamer and probably as much more was sent by other shippers . . . all this was produced from San Fernando, San Gabriel and Santa Anita placers. In the past forty years a large amount of gold has been taken out of the San Gabriel placers — how much it is impossible to say. As late as 1876 there were two hydraulic companies working in the canyon. One company reported a yield of \$1,365 for a run of twenty-six days, working five men . . .

The year 1859 and the early sixties were perhaps the most active periods of gold mining on the San Gabriel. The *Los Angeles Star* of May 28, 1859, reports 200 men at work in the San Gabriel with diggings on the banks and bars of the stream and on the flats and hills, and that preparations are being made to work some of the claims by the hydraulic method. The trade of the miners then supported several stores. On July 9 of the same year, a contributor states that he has seen several lumps of gold ranging in price from \$1.00 to \$7.50, taken out of the San Gabriel. On July 23 it was noted that about 300 men, all of whom seemed to be doing well, were at work. In the year 1859 the amount of gold dust coming into Los Angeles from the various placer claims of the San Gabriel Mountains was sufficient to cause it to be used as a medium of exchange. Works of a larger scale were underway by the latter part of the summer of that year, for one of the larger companies was having a pump made in Los Angeles — the second largest of its kind in the State — for use on its San Gabriel Canyon claims. The

Early Gold Mining Days in the San Gabriel Canyon

December floods of that year did considerable damage to the property of three companies working along the stream.

During the year 1860 the number of men working in the canyon seemed to have decreased; apparently the first excitement was over and then the hydraulic method was being introduced with a powerful spray replacing hand labor. In the March 10 issue of the *Star*, note is made of eight companies at work bringing water to their claims. In the same paper is a notice giving the rules governing the Eldoradoville Mining District in the San Gabriel. This district was to commence where Cattle Canyon comes into the main gorge and was to follow up the main stream for several miles. The laws stated provided for river, surface and quartz mining and contained all the regulations of a well organized district. A center known as Eldoradoville sprang up here. In May, 1860, the *Star* reported the San Gabriel claims as yielding a fair amount of gold and noted the discovery of silver. In July of the same year it reported that sixty "real miners" are working the stream, all of whom are doing well, with one company taking out \$800.00 in eight days. A few days later the newspaper states that the mines promise an "abundant harvest." In December, 1860, the Zapata, a silver mine, was reported as doing well.

During the year 1861 the *Los Angeles Star* noted the San Gabriel mines as follows: February 16 — The Zapata Mining Company is operating with "great spirit"; March 23 — "A large package of gold from the San Gabriel mines is at the office of Wells, Fargo & Co."; April 6 — "Another rich vein of silver has been discovered — some of the Zapata ore assays \$650 dollars per ton . . . the Azusa mining district has been formed"; April 13 — "Gold from the mines is accepted as currency in Los Angeles"; April 20 — "Extensive bed of silver ore is discovered"; June 22 — Wells, Fargo & Co. are receiving dust in quantity from the San Gabriel mines"; August 3 — "A 2,500-foot tunnel has been proposed for the Zapata Mine"; August 17 — "Wells, Fargo & Co. report the shipments of gold from their Los Angeles office during the last six months as averaging \$15,000 a month."

J. D. Whitney, a noted geologist engaged at an early date to survey the mineral resources of the state, knew of the deposits in the

San Gabriel; apparently he was not greatly impressed by them for while admitting the presence of gold, silver and copper he inferred that the washing of gold had not been very profitable and thought the discovery of valuable veins of the metals unlikely.

During the 1870's the Los Angeles papers turned to Inyo County — where the Cerro Gordo District was becoming famous for its output of silver — for most of their mining news. A note in the Thompson and West *History of Los Angeles County* speaks of extensive hydraulic works being built in San Gabriel Canyon in 1871. A map made by W. H. Norway in 1875 while surveying lands for the government shows the location of a number of mining claims in San Gabriel Canyon which were surveyed by John Goldsworth in 1871-1872. This map gives the area of the mining claims in a single township as being over 323 acres and shows them as extending along the river for several miles. Another survey made in 1884 found over 500 acres in mining claims. A plat of the Violet Quartz Mine made in 1888, shows the location of a blacksmith shop, weight house, powder magazine, office, kitchen, dining-room, cabin, stable and water-wheel on the river.

About 1889 Mr. E. B. Preston reported on the San Gabriel mines for the State Mining Bureau. Then the Victoria Gold and Silver Mining and Milling Co., had a number of excavations along the river and a "beautiful 10-stamp mill" designed to be operated by water-power but which had never been used. Mr. Preston found the Kelsey Mine idle in spite of the fact that the findings of large amounts of native silver shortly before had caused great excitement in Los Angeles.

In the *Eleventh Annual Report* of the State Mining Bureau for the years 1891-1892, Mr. W. H. Storms, in reporting on operations in Los Angeles County, remarks about the Kelsey Mine as follows:

One of the most interesting mines in the county is located in rugged mountains about eight miles north of the town of Azusa, in the San Gabriel Canyon. It is commonly known as the Kelsey Mine and has become famous as a producer of silver ore of a fabulous richness . . . Most of the ore extracted from these workings has been high grade, usually running over \$200 per ton, small lots assaying several thousand

Early Gold Mining Days in the San Gabriel Canyon

ounces . . . The property at the time of my visit last spring was under the management of Dr. Endlich, E.M. This gentleman was making every effort to systematically open a vein that had been as systematically and outrageously gouged . . . A mill had been erected at the foot of the mountain in the San Gabriel Canyon . . . An office, boarding house, stables, corrals etc. had been built . . . In addition to this I found a complete assay office and chemical laboratory, and here Dr. Endlich was experimenting with the rich cobalt and nickel ores. As a result of his labors in this direction he exhibited several bars of cobalt speiss containing a very high value in silver. The assorted ore contains from seven to fifteen percent in cobalt, two to three percent nickel, in the form of arsenides. The bars contain from 4,500 to 7,000 ounces silver per ton . . .

In the *Thirteenth Annual Report* of the Mining Bureau for the years 1895-1896, mention is made of a five-stamp power mill at the Kelsey Mine which, however, was not being worked at that time. In this report a note is made of the Big Horn Mine on North Baldy, one of the highest if not the most elevated of the old mines found in the San Gabriel mountains and the one to which races were held in the days when mountain climbing with automobiles was a new sport.

A few early-day mining men still live in or near the San Gabriel Canyon, most of whom think the early papers did not overstate the mining activity here. Prospecting for gold is still an occupation carried on with more or less activity and, of late, attention has returned to the old mines. The old Kelsey mill and a few other buildings still stand. In various spots there are to be seen traces of old cuts, tunnels and ditches. Whether or not mining of the metals is revived on a large scale, this fine canyon is doing a great deal to help advance the mineral output of Los Angeles County for the cone at its mouth is an important center for the production of crushed stone, the annual output of which in California now exceeds that of gold.

Sutter Buttes:

A Geographic Eminence in California History

By Bernard L. Fontana

“*That night Sky Chief went down into the ground at the foot of the central post of the house and came out at the lake. He went away southward. Nobody saw him go. With his feet he made various mountains and hills as he stepped. He made Marysville Buttes, and there he waited for the son of Nose Talker.*”¹

It is from myths of the Maidu and Wintun Indians that we find the earliest known mention of the Sutter Buttes, eroded remains of an extinct volcano in the center of the Sacramento Valley, 2,132 feet above the valley floor. The Sutter Buttes have cropped up again and again in the unfolding of the history of the Sacramento Valley, their unique prominence landmarking the terrain for early explorers and settlers.

In October of 1808, the “Columbus of California,” Gabriel Moraga, became the first white man known to make note of these hills. Moraga traveled up the Sacramento Valley in search of possible mission sites. He crossed the Feather River somewhere near Nicholas, and traveled north-northwest seven leagues to a “mountain range in the middle of the valley,” the Sutter Buttes.²

Between May 13 and May 26, 1817, Luis Arguello, who was later to become governor of San Francisco, made an expedition by boat up the Sacramento River. He got nearly as far north as the mouth of the Feather River, at which point he mentioned the Sutter Buttes as being ten leagues farther on.³

During the entire month of March, 1828, Jedediah Strong

Sutter Buttes

Smith travelled up the Sacramento Valley along the Sacramento and Feather Rivers. He is often wrongly credited as being the first white man to see the Sutter Buttes, and indeed, he was among the first. It is remarkable, however, that in his journal of this trip he made no mention of these hills whatsoever.⁴ The Sutter Buttes are surrounded by the level valley floor, and it is difficult to understand why Smith made no mention of them. It is possible that the March weather was such that he at no time had a clear view of the hills. There are many winter days when they cannot be seen from nearby Yuba City, and many more days when they are difficult to distinguish from the Coast Ranges some forty miles away in the background when looking from the east as Smith was when he must have passed them. It is almost ironic that he is often credited with the discovery of the buttes when he never mentioned them in writing.

During the years after Smith's trip, and prior to 1846, several parties of trappers, explorers, and settlers passed through the Sacramento Valley, most of these groups moving west of the Sutter Buttes along the Sacramento River. Lieutenant Ringgold of the United States Exploring Expedition headed by Lieutenant-Commander Wilkes, in 1841 referred to this tiny cluster of peaks as the *Prairie Buttes*.⁵ James D. Dana, geologist of the expedition, called them *Sacramento Bute*.⁶ Michel La Framboise, a French-Canadian trapper for the Hudson Bay Company, attached the simple name, "Buttes," to the Sutter Buttes when he passed them in 1829.⁷ Peter Lassen, remembered today by the peak and the county which bear his name, had a forced encampment in the Sutter Buttes in December of 1843 (some authorities place this slightly more than a year later in 1845) when high water prevented him from completing his northward voyage to *Rancho Bosquejo*.⁸ The Sutter Buttes were certainly known to John A. Sutter, being designated as *Los tres picos* in the Spanish land grant title to Sutter.⁹

From May 30 until June 8, 1846, the Sutter Buttes were visited by John C. Frémont, who called them the *Buttes of Sacramento*.¹⁰ Frémont's stay in the Buttes was not an eventful one, and while he was there, much of the business pertaining to the Bear Flag Revolt was carried on. Ide reports that horses captured from the Mexicans,

the first act of open hostility, were taken to Frémont's camp in the Buttes.¹¹ Kit Carson, a well known personality in the history of the American frontier, was with Frémont in the Buttes. Hittell says that much of the Bear Flag Revolt was planned at this camp.¹²

In 1843, Sutter, finding a certain Dr. Sandels so much interested in minerals, said to him one day, "Doctor, can you find me a gold mine?" Sandels explored up the Sacramento Valley as far as Chico Creek, looking into the Buttes on the way. When he returned to the fort, his comment to Sutter was, "Indications of gold but that unless the mountains on the sides were richer than those in the valleys, the mines would not pay to work."¹³ And so the Sutter Buttes proved to be no Sierra Nevada in the matter of gold, and the great rush was postponed for six years.

It wasn't until 1849 that the first permanent settler moved into the Sutter Buttes. The gold fever had passed Sutter County by, and the only gold to be had was that planted and grown in the soil or grazed on the range land. It was 1849 when Edward Thurman and a partner built a cabin at the east end of the Buttes' South Pass Road, herding cattle.¹⁴ Thurman was followed in close succession by a host of other settlers: Brittan, Stohlman, Stevenson, Pugh, Graves, Pennington, names not unknown in Sutter County today. John Sutter's ranch at Hock Farm may have been the first settlement in the county, but certainly the area in and around the Buttes was the first to receive a heavy population. Names such as Noyesburg, West Butte, Moon's Ferry, Pennington, North Butte, and Union were the names of Sutter County population centers, now little more than marks on topographic maps. Sutter City, just south and east of the Buttes, was once laid out to be the county seat of Sutter County. Strange that settlers should cluster around this geographical prominence? Not when we consider that at one time there were no levees along the rivers, and the Buttes afforded a natural high place for safety from the floods.

George E. Brittan, who settled in the Buttes in 1853, built a two-story house out of the igneous rock of the Buttes, a house standing and lived in to this day. His daughter writes, "My father planted ten acres to peaches in 1893, and had the earliest peaches

Sutter Buttes

to ship to Chicago, but the Southern Pacific charged such awful freight his profit for the lot was only thirty dollars, so he dug the peaches up and put the soil back to grain.”¹⁵ Sutter County today is one of the largest cling peach producing areas in the world.

Gas and oil exploration in Northern California today owes itself in part at least, to an incident that occurred in the Sutter Buttes in 1864. Dexter Cook, a laborer about the Buttes, dug into a hillside looking for coal. A accumulation of natural gas in his drift blew him and his companions out of the hole, killing one of the companions.¹⁶ This note came to the attention of Walter Stalder, and Stadler persuaded O. G. Green to carry on gas and oil explorations in the Buttes, the Buttes Oil fields, Inc. being formed in 1929.¹⁷

The Sutter Buttes received their official title in October of 1949 by a published decision of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names.¹⁸ Whether called by Sutter Buttes, Marysville Buttes, Three Buttes, or any other name, the picture is clear that this small but prominent eminence in the Sacramento Valley has played its role in California history. Truly, if geographical landmarks have played a part in the formation of destinies of men, the Sutter Buttes have played theirs.

NOTES :

1. Curtis, *North American Indian*, Vol. IV, 1924, page 175 in the section on the Maidu. This particular tale was narrated by Jack Franco, a Northwestern Maidu from Butte County, California. Further mention can be found in Dixon, R. B., *Maidu Myths*, BAMNH, XVII, 1905, 347-80.
2. Chapman, Charles E., *A History of California, the Spanish Period*, 1939, p. 423. Donald Cutter has translated the Moraga diaries, a PhD thesis on file at the University of California at Berkeley library.
3. Chapman, *op cit*, p. 429.
4. Sullivan, Maurice S., *The Travels of Jedediah Strong Smith*, Fine Arts Press, Santa Ana: 1934. pps. 65-75.
5. Reference in Curtis, *op cit*, p. 73.
6. Dana, James D., *Geology*, Vol. X of the records of the United States Exploring Expedition under the command of Charles Wilkes, Philadelphia: Printed by C. Sherman, 1849. p. 649.
7. Reference in Hoover and Rensch, *Historic Spots in California*, Stanford University Press, 1942. p. 181.
8. Kirov, George, *Peter Lassen, His Life and Achievements*, Publ. Calif Senate, 1940. p. 12.
9. Hoover and Rensch, *op cit*, p. 181.
10. Frémont, John C., *Excerpt from Memoirs of My Life*, 1887, p. 509.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

11. Ide, William B., *A Biographical Sketch*, copyright 1880 by Simon Ide. pps. 112-113.
12. Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. II, 1885. pps. 422-425.
13. Bancroft, H. H., *California Inter Pocula*, Vol. XXXV, pps. 51-52.
14. Chamberlain and Wells, *History of Sutter County*, publ. Thompson and West, 1879. p. 89.
15. Personal correspondence with Mattie Brittan Wullweber, April 25, 1948. Palo Alto, California.
16. Stalder, Walter, *Geologic Formations and Economic Development of the Gas and Oil Fields of California*, Bull. 118, Calif. Div. of Mines.
17. Personal communications with Walter Stalder and with O. G. Green, both of whom gave fullest support in all my research efforts. Mr. Green still heads the Buttes Oilfields, Inc., but Mr. Stadler died March 15, 1949. With his passing, California lost one of the staunchest of her amateur students of history.
18. United States Board on Geographic Names, Dept. of the Interior, Washington, D. C., October, 1949. Decision lists No.s 4907, 4908, 4909, July, August, September, 1949. p. 5.






HOTEL DEL CORONADO

— Photo from C. C. Pierce Collection

Early California Resorts

By Marco R. Newmark

OUTHERN CALIFORNIA has a nation-wide reputation as a garden spot, a place of wonderful climate and a delightful playground. For three-quarters of a century tourists and settlers have been attracted to this favored land by an enchantment as compelling to millions as the lure of gold in Northern California was to the youthful and adventurous spirits of the nation a century ago.

Conspicuous among nature's gifts to the Southland is:

CATALINA

On October 7, 1542, two ships under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo anchored near a mountainous island about twenty miles from the present city of San Pedro. A boat was lowered and as it neared shore a large number of Indians of the Shoshonean group issued from the bushes and grass. The white men signaled to them not to be frightened, whereupon a group of them paddled out to the ships in a canoe. When they returned to the shore, the Spaniards followed them and with beads and other presents won their friendship. Cabrillo named the island Salvador, changed in 1602 to Santa Catalina by Sebastian Vizcaino when he stopped there on the feast day of that saint.

Later, many of the aborigines fell victim to the white man's diseases and in 1833 the survivors were removed to San Gabriel Mission. The Island has passed through many ownerships, beginning on July 4, 1846, when Governor Pio Pico granted it to Thomas M. Robbins. On August 31, 1850, Robbins sold it to José Maria Covarrubias, the deed being dated October 13, 1853. He in turn dis-

posed of it to Albert Packard. During the following years, it came into the possession of several successive owners, and in 1867 James Lick purchased it.

Lick died in 1876 and on August 11, 1887, the trustees of his estate sold it to George Shatto. A year later Shatto founded a town which his sister, Mrs. E. J. Whitney, named Avalon, taking the name from the Island of Avalon in Tennyson's *Idyls of the King*.

Shatto, however, was unable to keep up the payments on the mortgage, and the trustees foreclosed. On September 20, 1892, they sold it to William Banning, who on May 7, 1896, deeded it to the Santa Catalina Island Company, which he had organized, and it was at this time that the old Metropole Hotel, subsequently destroyed by fire, was built. Charles Frederick Holder, father of the annual Pasadena Rose Tournament, was wont to gather on the veranda of the hotel to swap fish stories with some of his cronies; and as a result of these gatherings he founded the Tuna Club in 1895.

The Old Glenmore

The oldest still existing hotel is the Glenmore, built in 1900. It was a small hotel, but was gradually enlarged over the years, and later sold to Mrs. Louise Hathaway who is the present owner and manager. In those early days, the tented city also came into being and the well patronized dancing pavilion was built.

From an item in the *Los Angeles Express* of March 22, 1902, we learn that the new steamship *Hermosa* had been launched, and that Miss Anita Patton, sister of General George Patton, Jr., "shattered the christening bottle of champagne, a companion flask to that used at the launching of the original *Hermosa* in 1888."

We further learn in the issue of the following day that the Pacific and Continental Wireless Telephone and Telegraph Company of Denver, because the citizens of Los Angeles had bought liberally of its stock, had installed the first wireless station on the Pacific Coast. The first messages were exchanged with White's Point, Catalina, on August 2, 1902. On March 25, 1903, the publication in Avalon of a newspaper called the *Wireless* was started.

Early California Resorts

For a number of years, too, Otto J. Zahn and his brother, Oswald T. Zahn, conducted a carrier pigeon service between the island and Los Angeles. The birds left Avalon in the late afternoon and the news reached the city in time to appear in the newspapers the next morning. The Catalina Pigeon Messengers, as they were called, required a full hour for the trip; but the champion, Blue Jim, was able to cover the forty-eight miles in fifty minutes.

Because I knew him well before the gasoline launch had entirely supplanted the row-boat for trolling, I am tempted to say a word about a picturesque character known as Mexican Joe.

An article in the *Los Angeles Morning Herald* of October 30, 1903, contains a sketch about him. He was born in 1843 and baptized José Presciado. He came to the island as a child in 1850, and lived there the rest of his life. He never went to school; he never was in an elevator; he never used a telephone; but he did know Catalina. As he himself expressed it, "If there is a tree on the island I do not know, it must have grown last night."

Occasionally, he served as a guide for huntsmen who sought the wild goats of the island; but he spent most of his time rowing his angling clients intent on capturing the denizens of the surrounding waters. He took pride in his trade and was a master of it; and even though it was a humble one, he played a part in life; and perhaps he deserves a tiny niche in a hall of fame.

SYCAMORE PARK - GROVE

Sycamore Grove (later changed to Sycamore Park-Grove), at 4702 North Figueroa Street, was used as a picnic ground in the *adobe* days. In the late 1860's, Clois F. Henrickson had opened a little hotel, a dancing pavilion, a saloon and a shooting gallery. The people went to this amusement place by omnibus, which operated every Sunday during the summer season.

After some years, John Rumph and his wife succeeded to the management. Frau Rumph became a popular hostess, and it was under her auspices that the old Los Angeles Turnverein used the Grove for its gymnastics, sack racing, target shooting and singing. The city bought the grove in 1905, and in 1907 it was enlarged by

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

a piece of land which was a gift of residents of the neighborhood. The park is still used for picnics and also for occasional band concerts.

BIG BEAR LAKE

In 1845, Governor Pio Pico commissioned Benjamin D. Wilson to lead a force of mounted men in pursuit of a band of Indians who were constantly raiding ranches in the neighborhood of the San Bernardino Mountains.

During the course of the expedition, the party came to a tiny lake, which because of the number of large bears which infested the region, he called Big Bear Lake. (This, however, is not the present lake of that name which was created in 1914 by the building of a dam).

About half-a-century later the possibilities of the neighborhood for a resort began to be recognized, and by 1898, a few cabins had been built, and Gus Knight had a small hotel. There are now over one hundred lodges and motels and also Harry Becker's Lagonita Lodge, which overlooks the entire lake. The lake provides good fishing and duck hunting; and deer roam the neighboring mountains to test the marksmanship of the modern nimrod.

In addition, vacationists, as well as the local residents who live in the settlements and little villages around the lake, have at their disposal facilities for golf, tennis, skiing and other sports.

THE ROUND HOUSE

In the late 1840's Ramon Alexander, a former sailor, built on the west side of Main Street, between Third and Fourth, a residence, which was a replica of a cylinder-shaped structure he had seen on the coast of Africa.

In 1856, George Lehmann, who came to be known as "Round House George," bought the property and opened on the premises as a pleasure resort extending through to Spring Street. He named it the Garden of Paradise.

Lehmann nailed boards over the *adobe* walls and this changed the cylinder form into that of an octagon. An ingenious arrange-

Early California Resorts

ment of the parterre and a peculiar distribution of some trees, together with a profusion of plants and flowers, afforded cool, shady bowers and made the garden an attractive locale for the gatherings of pleasure seekers. Adding to its uniqueness, there were two heroic statutes, one of Adam, the other of Eve, and a conglomeration of other bibical curiosities, including an apple tree and a representation of the wily snake.

The Garden of Paradise was opened in September, 1858; and so large was its extent that when it was used for the Fourth of July celebration in 1876, there were seats for twenty-six hundred people. In its day, it was a famous and popular resort for Angelenos and visitors to the city.

In the seventies, Lehmann, forseeing the future growth of Los Angeles, bought many pieces of property on Main, Spring, Hill and Broadway, one of which, on the southwest corner of Sixth and Spring, then known as Georgetown Corner, was the location of a little grocery store opened in 1877 by George A. Ralphs and a partner named Francis — the beginning of the great chain known as the Ralph's Grocery Company.

The end of Lehman's career was a sad one. In the late 1870's, the city began to improve the streets; and since his properties brought no income, he was compelled to mortgage them in order to pay for his share of the improvements. In 1879, he was unable to keep up the payments; the mortgage was foreclosed, and Round House George, a worthy man and a constructive citizen, died a pauper and was buried in a pauper's grave.

TIVOLI GARDEN

In the *Los Angeles Star* of August 4, 1860, appeared the following advertisement: "The public of Los Angeles and vicinity are informed that this Pleasure Garden at the Pryor Vineyard on the Wolfskill Road, just a few minutes walk from Aliso, will be opened tomorrow, for the reception of all who are fond of amusement. Excellent music has been secured for the occasion. Charles K. Kaiser."

Los Angeles folk were wont to repair to the Garden to picnic, dance and listen to the band.

NEWPORT BEACH AND BALBOA

As early as the 1860's and 1870's, a number of pioneers had settled in a district close to Newport Bay. Among them was Rev. Isaac Hickey, an ex-Baptist preacher, who frequently conducted divine service; and because of the swamps in the neighborhood, a youthful follower, in a spirit of fun, suggested that the little settlement should be named Gospel Swamp. His suggestion, however, was taken seriously, and Gospel Swamp it became.

On November 11, 1884, Captain and Mrs. William Kelly took up residence in another neighborhood not far away, and Mrs. Kelly opened a boarding house for men working at a lumber yard owned by James and Robert McFadden. Between 1885 and 1888, several structures were erected, and soon thereafter a pier and bath house were built.

In 1889 McFadden bought, at one dollar per acre, nine hundred to one thousand acres, including all of Newport plus the land which later became the location of Balboa. By 1892, visitors were camping along the beach, and in 1893 McFadden built a hotel, the Newport. (The name Newport Beach appears for the first time on a map dated February 16, 1904).

BALBOA

Balboa had its origin shortly after 1880 when Edward J. Abbott, who owned some land on the island, built a small house and a little pier.

In 1895, he transferred his holdings to his brother-in-law, Clinton Andre, who laid out a section known as Bayside Tract, on which he built a home. By 1904, James Ferguson had acquired an option on a parcel of land east of Andres' property. The option was transferred to Newport Bay and Investment Company, and at this time, "the two districts were brought into conformity with each other."

In 1905, Emanuel J. Louis, a stockbroker of the company, proposed that the place be named Balboa, and the proposal was adopted. During the same year, the corporation built that old land-

Early California Resorts

mark, the pavilion and constructed the Balboa Hotel, the contractor being Chris McNeil. The combined population of Balboa and Newport Beach is now about 14,000.

ARROWHEAD SPRINGS HOTEL

It is said that the first white man to see the mountainside vegetative growth, which, because of the resemblance of its configuration to an arrowhead, gave the resort its name, was Juan Bautista de Anza, who passed by that way in 1774.

In 1863, Dr. David N. Smith built a few cabins and two years later erected an hotel. This hotel was destroyed by fire, as were two successors, the last one in 1937. Arrowhead Springs Corporation, among whose leading shareholders were Joseph M. Schenck, Jay Paley, Darryl Zannuck and Claudette Colbert, bought the property and built the present hotel, which was opened on December 17, 1939.

Subsequently the hotel was sold by them to Hull Arrowhead Co. During the second World War the hotel was completely occupied by the United States Navy for use as a Recuperation Center. Hull Arrowhead Company in 1950 sold it to Conrad Hilton, president of Hilton Hotels. He, in turn, has leased the hotel to Hilton Hotels, Inc., which now operates the hotel under the management of Robert A. Groves.

Arrowhead Springs is particularly noted for its mineral springs and for its mud baths, which have brought relief to thousands of victims of rheumatism and other similar afflictions. The present general manager is Wayne A. Farrell, formerly Executive Assistant Manager of the Town House, Los Angeles, another Hilton unit.

SANTA MONICA

Santa Monica Canyon was established as an embryo resort about 1870, and by 1871, J. M. Harned had started a bar and refreshment parlor for the convenience of Sunday picnickers and some twenty families who were sojourning there in tents.

On July 10, 1875, Col. Robert S. Baker and John P. Jones, United States Senator from Nevada, recorded a map of a proposed town to be started on a part of their *San Vicente Rancho*, and on July 15, after an hotel and bath house had been built, they engaged the eloquent Tim Fitch to auction lots. Such was the beginning of Santa Monica.

Although it lacks documentary authentication, a legend of the Spanish settlers concerning the naming of the town is of sufficient romantic interest to bear repetition. According to this legend, a couple of Spanish soldiers were given a furlough to explore the region about the *Pueblo de Los Angeles*. While resting near a spring, one of them asked his companion. "What shall we call this spot?" The reply was, "We will call it Santa Monica, for the spring resembles the tears of the good Santa Monica which she shed for her erring son."

(The wayward son, whose name was Augustine, mended his ways. He entered the church, and in later life became Bishop of Hippo in Africa.)

Now, to return to more modern times — Senator Jones, in association with Jonathan S. Slauson, Francis P. F. Temple, T. W. Clark and James Pritchard, started the Los Angeles and Independence Railroad. It was put into service on December 1, 1875, and was later absorbed by the Southern Pacific.

The following advertisement, in the *Herald* of June 11, 1886, refers to a recently built hotel: "Eighty rooms, forty fireplaces! Electric bells! Telephone with Los Angeles! Pleasantly situated on a bluff overlooking the ocean." This hotel, with its long veranda, as I recall, was located a short distance south of what is now the corner of Wilshire Boulevard and Ocean Avenue.

In 1887, it met with quite formidable competition when the Arcadia Hotel named for Dona Arcadia de Baker, was opened by J. W. Scott, and soon became a summer society capitol. The hotel and the charming village of a former day are now but a fond memory. Santa Monica succumbed to progress and over the years has grown into a sizeable modern city.

Early California Resorts

Perhaps mention should be made of what was for some sixty-eight years a Southern California landmark. About 1885, Senator Jones built a large mansion on Ocean Avenue, the site of which is now occupied by the Miramar Hotel. During World War II, the army took it over. After the conflict, it was remodeled, and in October, 1949, it was purchased by Joe Massaglia, who conducts it under the management of Fred E. Doerr.

TELL'S PLACE, BALLONA AND PLAYA DEL REY

Before 1870, the environment of the present Playa del Rey was known as Ballona Slough. It consisted of marshy fields broken by sand dunes, ponds and lagoons.

In that year, Will Tell built a shack there. He called it Tell's Lookout, but it was better known as Will's Place. He rented boats to sportsmen who came to shoot the wild ducks that inhabited the region, and for more than fifteen years, it was a hunter's paradise; but in 1884 raging tides destroyed it and Will's Place became a memory of the past.

Two years thereafter, Moses L. Wicks and others organized the Ballona Harbor and Improvement Company for the purpose of building a harbor. The following year, Port Ballona, as it was named, was being advertised as the future harbor of California, and in August thousands of people assembled to participate in the opening of the much heralded harbor, but this venture also came to naught.

Then, in 1902, a group of capitalists incorporated the Beach Land Company. Among the directors were Henry T. Barber, president; Frederick H. Rindge, Moses H. Sherman, T. Clark, E. T. Early and R. C. Gillis. They purchased one thousand acres having two and one-half miles of ocean frontage, including Ballona and on this land founded Playa del Rey. In 1904, the Del Rey Hotel was built, and thus another, and this time, permanent resort was started.

LONG BEACH

In 1870, William E. Willmore landed in Wilmington and headed on foot for Anaheim. He stopped to rest at what is now the corner of American Avenue and Anaheim Street. While admiring the surrounding vast expanse of grass covered plain of *Los Cerritos Rancho*, it occurred to him that there was a spot to establish a colony, and in July, 1882, he secured from Jotham Bixby an option on four thousand acres of land, including the heart of the present-day Long Beach.

He then founded the American Colony for the purpose of selling colonists parcels of from four to forty acres to be used for dairying and agriculture. He also started a town to be named for himself and advertised throughout the nation for buyers but he received so few responses that the plan failed and in 1884 he was compelled to relinquish the option.

Judge Robert M. Widney then organized the Long Beach Land and Water Company, the other directors being George Bonebrake, Thomas D. Mott, F. C. Hawes and Rev. A. M. Hough. They took up the option and changed the name to Long Beach (it was not incorporated until March 2, 1888).

In 1884, also, Judge Widney, attorney for the company, organized the American Colony Railroad, which ran from Wilmington to the town; and in the same year the Long Beach Hotel was built. Frank A. Miller came from Riverside to accept the management but after a few months returned to his former home. (The hotel was destroyed by fire on March 8, 1888).

The town met with temporary success, but the great Land Boom brought disaster, and the population dwindled until only about five hundred people remained. After the frenzy ended, however, prosperity returned and for many years Long Beach was an attractive resort; but with the passing of time it grew rapidly, and now has a population of 255,650.

The oldest still existing hotel was built in 1900. It was originally called the Julian Hotel but was later renamed Lincoln Park

Early California Resorts

Hotel. The owner is Mrs. Carim J. Tyron and the manager is Mildred Collins.

WASHINGTON GARDENS

The pioneer, Dave V. Waldron, in the early 1870's, had a home on some thirty-five acres extending south and west from the present corner of Main and Washington Streets.

Here he started Washington Gardens. There was a Sunday variety show, dancing, picnicking, a small menagerie and a little race track on which the contestants drove buggies at even more than "a furious rate," which the first city speed regulating ordinance specified as being eight miles per hour. Waldron later went to Alaska, where he met with a tragic death. In May, 1911, he was found dead in a hut, alone and destitute.

In the 1920's, Washington Park became Chutes Park; a ferris-wheel and a merry-go-round were added to its attractions. Subsequently it became a baseball park and finally was subdivided and put on the market.

SIERRA MADRE VILLA

In 1874, William Porter Rhodes came from his home in Skaneateles, New York, to Los Angeles, possibly because he preferred both the name and climate of the latter. His intention was to engage in business, but after looking over the situation here, he concluded that there was no need for another general merchandise store, and so decided to become a fruit grower.

With this in mind he drove around the San Gabriel Valley, and while on this tour "he got a glimpse of what he thought would be the most beautiful spot in Southern California." In this neighborhood, he bought five hundred acres on which he built a home and planted a vineyard and a grove of citrus trees. His family, however, soon began to miss the amenities of social life; and after three years, at the suggestion of his Los Angeles physician, he started taking in boarders who longed for country life in the foothills.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

This move met with success, and Rhodes was soon compelled to add twenty rooms and later another fifty. Sierra Madre Villa became a popular resort to which came guests from far and near, among them being General Grant, Collis P. Huntington, the Crocker and Mark Hopkins families; and Helen Hunt Jackson spent some time there gathering material for *Ramona*.

In about 1884, Rhodes sold the Villa. It was afterwards converted into a mental institution, and in 1920 this popular old hostelry was razed. In 1950 the *Historical Society of Sierra Madre* published the *Annals of Sierra Madre*, based on the records of Rhodes' son, William Lawren Rhodes, president of the society for many years until his death in 1948.

In addition to a history of the Villa, it includes an account of the trip of the family across the continent and a description of Los Angeles in 1874.

MISSION INN

In 1874, Frank A. Miller, then seventeen years of age, came with his family from their Wisconsin home to pioneer in Riverside. There they bought twenty acres of land, on which they built an *adobe*. Shortly thereafter the little hotel of the new town burned down and the Millers offered shelter to its permanent guests, at which time they named the *adobe*, Glenwood Cottage, later changed to Glenwood Hotel.

Miller began to dream of replacing the hotel with another which should reflect the mission architecture. In 1902-1903, the dream breathed, and the main building with its two wings, in mission style, was thrown around the old *adobe*.

Thereafter, with the aid of large loans from Henry E. Huntington and \$25,000.00 raised by private subscription, Miller enlarged the inn; and it soon became a center of art, culture and hospitality, which has attracted many thousands of visitors from the four corners of the world.

Among the most celebrated were Madame Modjeska, Vicente

Early California Resorts

Ibanez, Jacob Riis, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, John Burroughs, John Muir, Lord and Lady Allenby, President Herbert Hoover, Grand Duke Alexander of Russia, Prince Kaya of Japan, Dr. Robert T. Millikan, Rev. Robert T. Burdette, Booker T. Washington, King Kalakaua of Hawaii, Rabindranath Tagore, and President Theodore Roosevelt.

Space does not permit in this story a detailed account of Mission Inn and of the manifold civic, humanitarian and other contributions of Frank Miller. Those who may be interested are referred to a vivid and fascinating story of his rich life in *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*, written by Zuna Gale and published in 1938.

In his later years, he wrote to a friend, "when I was young, I lived as though I was old, so that when I was old, I was still young."

In retrospect, those who were privileged to see him toward the end of his days on earth will realize how true this was. He lay in his bed, wan and worn, but his eyes were yet as bright, his spirit as strong and his mind as clear as ever. But all paths lead to an end. On June 17, 1935, he surrendered his trust, for to him it was indeed a trust, to other hands.

Mission Inn is now owned by his son-in-law, De Witt Hutchins, and its general manager is John F. Buchanan. They are faithfully carrying out the ideals and maintaining the now mellowed traditions its builder established.

GILMAN HOT SPRINGS

About 1880, a family by the name of Branch built a hotel at the foot of San Jacinto Mountain, which, because of the curative qualities of the hot mud sulphur springs in the neighborhood, they dubbed Relief Hot Springs.

At that time, the hotel was a crude five-room affair (ten cottages, some tents and a bath house were later added); but it was the beginning of a now worldwide-known resort.

In 1913, Mr. and Mrs. William C. Gilman came by that way, and Mrs. Gilman, inspired by the beauty of the surrounding

scenery, exclaimed, "This is the place for us!" Her husband, not seeing the possibilities of the place, tried to dissuade her, but the lady knew what she wanted; she had her way, and they bought the resort from the Branch's.

During World War I, fire destroyed it; but the Gilmans were not discouraged, they immediately began the construction, on its site, of the present hostelry, which was opened on May 15, 1918. Mr. Gilman passed away on October 4, 1942, and Mrs. Gilman succeeded him in the presidency of the family corporation, of which her son, Earl, is vice-president and her daughter, Mrs. Margaret G. Hanna, secretary-treasurer, the manager of the hotel being William A. Gilman, Jr.

PALM SPRINGS

In 1881, John G. McCallum, a prominent San Francisco attorney, brought his son, John, who was afflicted with tuberculosis, to the *Agua Caliente Mineral Springs*. Deciding to establish his residence there, he chose a site on which were *adobe* walls of Indian origin; in 1884 he acquired the site, and two years later purchased from the Southern Pacific their holdings in the vicinity, which are marked on the company's records "Palm Valley Colony."

In his letters to his friends and during an occasional visit to the northern city McCallum praised the attractions of the region, especially emphasizing the medicinal virtues of the water in the spring and pool. As a result of his enthusiasm, the spot received much publicity in the press and soon San Franciscans began to visit there.

Among them was Dr. Welwood Murray, who had arrived just after the McCallums. Deciding to develop an hotel business, he purchased a site from McCallum and erected a small hostelry named Palm Springs Hotel, which was opened in 1886. Among his guests over the years were such famous characters as Vice-President Charles W. Fairbanks, John Muir, Robert Louis Stevenson, J. Edgar Hoover and George Warton James.

Early California Resorts

Henceforth, the town began to grow. In 1908, Mrs. Nellie Coffman and her sons, George R. and Earl arrived, and in 1909, Mrs. Coffman bought a small residence which she named Desert Inn. By 1919, she had acquired thirty-five acres around the inn. Thereafter, she and her two sons, just returned from war service, began a program of expansion which resulted in the Desert Inn of today. Mrs. Coffman died in the early part of 1950, but her sons conduct the inn under the management of Earl. The population of Palm Springs is about 7,500.

FULTON WELLS

In 1884, a Dr. J. Fulton started, about two and one-half miles east of Norwalk, a resort which he named Fulton Hot Wells. In an advertisement in a Los Angeles newspaper of that year, he proclaimed the curative virtues of its water. Later, it was incorporated, Dr. Joseph P. Widney being made president. At this time it was renamed Sulphur Springs and so remained until the discovery of oil in the region put an end to its existence.

DEL MAR

In 1885, Boon Land (presumably a corporation) started the village of Del Mar. Planned by J. F. Taylor, it was intended to be an art and literary center. At about this time, an hotel, the Casa del Mar, was erected; but in 1890 it was destroyed by fire, and for approximately a decade the village languished.

The undertaking was revived in the beginning of this century, when the William G. Kerckhoff family purchased several thousand acres of land, including the townsite. They subdivided the land and sold lots; and the deserted village was re-established as a resort.

The Kerckhoffs were then induced by Col. Edward Fletcher to build a hotel, which was a replica of Shakespeare's home at Stratford-on-Avon and was given the name Stratford Inn. So it remained for nearly three decades or until about 1930 when it was renamed Del Mar Hotel.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

In 1939, the property was leased to a syndicate composed of Joseph D. Minster, William Anderson and Vander Stern, with an option to buy (which was later taken up). Subsequently, Stern purchased the interests of his partners; and in 1946 he sold out to the present owner, Sanford D. Adler, of Los Angeles, who in turn disposed of it to J. H. Norman, the manager being O. A. Richards.

PASO ROBLES INN

The story of Paso Robles Inn can be briefly told.

The original inn was built in the mid 1880's and soon became widely known because of the health-giving mineral springs in the neighborhood no less than for the beauty of its surroundings.

It was burned to the ground in 1940. The erection of the present inn, which is representative of the early California ranch style, was opened in 1942. It is conducted by a co-partnership under the management of Harold H. Bar.

RAYMOND HOTEL

Walter Raymond was a pioneer in the Southern California tourist business. With a partner named Whitcomb, he began, in 1879, organizing excursions to the Southland. In 1883, he bought fifty-five acres of land on Beacon's, (later changed to Raymond) Hill, in South Pasadena.

In November, 1883, he started a hotel, also to be named for him. He soon found himself in financial difficulties, but his father, Emmons R. Raymond, came to his rescue; and on November 17, 1886, the grand opening took place. The occasion was described in the *Pasadena Valley Union* as "the most notable and brilliant event that has yet occurred in Southern California."

On Easter Sunday, March 14, 1895, the hotel was completely destroyed by fire; but, nothing daunting, the owned rebuilt it and the opening took place in 1901. Then, "by the end of the 1920's, the old hotel's star had waned with the advent of more modern attrac-



— Photo from C. C. Pierce Collection

HOTEL ARCADIA, SANTA MONICA, ABOUT 1895



— Photo Courtesy Security-First National Bank

REDONDO HOTEL, REDONDO BEACH

Early California Resorts

ions both in Pasadena and Los Angeles," and in 1931, the famous old hostelry closed its doors forever.

CORONADO

In 1886, James W. Reid and his brother, Merritt, were the architects for the David Mackey system of railroads, whose headquarters were in Evansville, Indiana, and of which E. S. Babcock was an executive.

In the above year, ill health compelled Babcock to resign, and he decided to visit San Diego. His sojourn there proving beneficial, he determined to remain, and before long he was engaged in several projects.

Among them was the purchase, in association with H. L. Story, of the Coronado Peninsula, for the conducting of which, a company was organized, and a tract was laid out as a townsite. The lots were sold readily on the promise that a hotel would be erected and other improvements made. Babcock telegraphed Reed to come to Coronado and he acceded to the request. When he arrived in San Diego, he was met by Babcock, Story and Herbert Ingle, who had become interested in the enterprise.

The next day, they went to the peninsula by the already established ferry to San Diego and were immediately fascinated by the environment. They discussed plans for the proposed hotel, and after having arrived at a decision, prepared a descriptive pamphlet, and since the plan they adopted closely approximates the situation as it is today, we will quote from this prospectus verbatim:

"It would be around a court — a garden of tropical trees, shrubs and flowers, with pleasant paths — balconies should look down on the court from every story."

In March, 1887, the first shovelful of earth was thrown, and on February 19, 1888, Hotel Del Coronado, of which J. W. Reed was the architect, was opened. By that time, a number of tents had been put up along the way to the hotel — the nucleus of what later was famous as Tent City.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Soon after the hotel was completed, John D. and Adolph B. Spreckels anchored their sailing boat *Lurline* in the bay, and visualizing the possibilities, acquired the property. The Spreckels family owned it, under several successive sub-lease arrangements, until 1948. In that year, on April 1, they sold it to Barney Goodman, who passed away in November, 1950, and the ownership is now vested in his estate. Its present manager being Harry G. Ward.

During the sixty-two years of its existence, the grand old hotel has played host to hundreds of thousands of guests among whom have been many distinguished people, including some world renowned figures, a few of whose names we will mention: Presidents Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, William Howard Taft and Franklin Delano Roosevelt; Thomas A. Edison; Harvey W. Firestone; Henry Ford; Marshall Field; A. Montgomery Ward; Anna Held; Edward, Prince of Wales; Madam Helena Modjeska and her husband Count Charles Bozenta Chalapowski; Gertrude Atherton; Robert Todd Lincoln; Ella Wheeler Wilcox; Albert Bigelow Paine; O. O. McIntyre and George B. Cortelu.

It may be noted, too, that the peninsula can boast of a number of historical events of interest. It was on the grounds of the hotel, on December 24, 1904, that the first recorded outdoor living electrically lighted Christmas tree was installed; it was on the "Coronado Scene" that Glenn Curtis, in January 1911, made the first seaplane flight; and the first official parachute jump took place on North Island in 1912. With the passing of the years, a town of about 12,500 people has developed on the island.

REDONDO

In 1887, two San Franciscans, Captain C. Ainsworth and Robert R. Thompson bought a large acreage on the old *Sansal Redondo Rancho* and founded the town of Redondo Beach. They built a wharf and other facilities, with the hope that it might become the principal port of Los Angeles. A government Board of Engineers in 1892 made a survey of San Pedro, Redondo and Santa Monica Bays, San Pedro was selected as a future harbor. Nevertheless Redondo

Early California Resorts

was for many years a port-of-call for ships plying up and down the coast.

In 1887, also, its two founders constructed the once famous Redondo Hotel, of which the Captain was made manager. This hostelry, with its spacious gardens and private outdoor theatre became "a mecca of fashion with its tennis tournaments, bathing parties, lunches, dinners and dances."

In 1890, a narrow gauge railroad to the new resort was built, the Los Angeles terminal being a little station at Grand Avenue and Jefferson. Boyle Workman relates in *The City That Grew*, that the opening of the hotel each season was a gala event and observes further that when the merrymakers returned to the station at dawn the streets were lined with carriages and hacks many of whose drivers had solaced themselves through the weary hours by getting drunk and that in consequence more than one swain had to take the reins himself and drive his young lady home.

Recalling the splendid fishing from the pier in the olden days, I am reminded of a quaint, loveable Negro pioneer named John Hall. He was a white-washer by trade but soon abandoned that calling to become an expressman, and, when he had spare time, did odd jobs of carpentering and upholstering for his friends. John, an ardent angler, was wont, on Sundays, when not otherwise engaged, to go fishing to Redondo or Santa Monica. He was especially fond of mackerel and devoted his piscatorial endeavors to that variety.

He would tie a large burlap bag to the railing, lower his line and sing lustily a couplet of his own authorship:

"Fishie, fishie, take my hook; you'll be captain; I'll be cook." This incantation, which he repeated after every cast, evidently had the desired result; for rare indeed was the day when he did not fill the bag.

One day, John discovered a new-born infant on the porch of his home and, his soul being as white as his complexion was black, adopted the foundling whom he appropriately named Moses and raised him as a member of his already sufficiently large family.

Old John Hall has long gone the way of all flesh and Redondo has gone the way of most of the early beach resort towns of our coast over the years; it gradually became the beneficiary (many old timers would say the victim) of Southern California progress, and has grown into a city of 33,600 people.

LA JOLLA

In 1887, the townsite of La Jolla, once part of the lands belonging to the *Presidio of San Diego*, was laid out by Frank Botsford. He and two associates, George Heald and, a little later, C. S. Dearborn, subdivided the property and began the sale of lots, on which the purchasers erected cottages.

In the earlier years, La Jolla was only a summer resort. During the rest of the year, picnic parties came by stage from San Diego to see the caves and other natural curiosities that feature the neighborhood. The first hostelry was the La Jolla Park Hotel, which was opened on New Year's Day, 1893, only to be burned down in June, 1896.

In 1908, the oldest still-existing hotel, the Cabrillo, was built. At the present time it is jointly owned and managed by Mrs. Elga L. Brewer and Miss Ethlin E. Newmond. For purposes of administration, La Jolla is included in the municipal government of San Diego, for which reason the census combines their total populations; but it is estimated that the population of the former is about 13,000.

Among the early pioneers of La Jolla was the nationally-known newspaper publisher, Mr. E. W. Scripps.

Scripps evisioned the exclusive residential community here on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, acquired extensive acreage and started to build his "dream city."

But what was lacking was an adequate fresh water supply. Scripps solved this problem by bringing water from San Diego in wagons carrying huge water tanks. Later, of course, an excellent water system was acquired by the rapidly growing village.

Publisher Scripps became interested in sea life, and in later

Early California Resorts

years built the La Jolla Biological Station, which he eventually gave to the University of California, together with an endowment for maintenance. It now ranks as one of the finest institutions in the country for the intensive study of marine life and oceanography — an invaluable contribution to science.

His sister, Miss Ellen Scripps, was beloved for her great philanthropic service to La Jolla, and to the State of California.

GREEN HOTEL

A widely-known hotel for sixty-two years is the Green in Pasadena. The original structure, later greatly enlarged, was built in 1888 by G. M. Green. It was later acquired by LeRoy Linnard, who is also its manager.

In addition to permanent residents it has always been host to temporary visitors. Its earlier registers have been lost but it is known that among the most celebrated were John D. Rockefeller and President Benjamin Harrison, in whose honor a banquet was given on February 7, 1891.

MT. LOWE

During the land boom of the 1880's, Professor Thadeus S. C. Lowe advocated the construction of a cable railroad to the top of a mountain above Rubio Canyon, near Altadena. The proposal appealed to a number of financiers and arrangements for a survey were made; but when the boom collapsed the project was abandoned.

Shortly thereafter, however, it was revived and carried to completion. On July 4, 1892, the first car made the steep ascent and on August 23, 1893, the road was open to the public.

An inn was constructed on the summit, and in 1894 an astronomical observatory was built. For many years, Mt. Lowe as it had been named, was a Mecca for astronomers and tourists, and many Los Angeles people were wont to spend a few days there from time

to time. On September 15, 1936, the hotel was burned to the ground and the once famous undertaking became a chapter in the past history of Southern California.

OCEAN PARK AND VENICE

"The land south of Santa Monica was once a barren waste, looked upon as practically useless for building or any other purpose." Abbot Kinney and Francis G. Ryan, however, did not agree with this view. They had faith in the sand dunes thereabouts; and in 1892 they bought an extensive strip along the ocean, with the idea of starting a town.

Their first step was to induce the Santa Fé to lay out a branch line to Ocean Park, as they had named the proposed town in advance. (This branch line, which ran from Inglewood to the coast, is no longer in existence). They then built a pavilion, a bath house, a pier, an auditorium and a number of cottages, including summer residences for themselves. Ryan, however, soon died; T. H. Dudley acquired his interest, which in 1901 he sold to G. M. Jones and H. R. Gage, who, with Kinney, began the sale of lots.

From this modest beginning has developed the crowded Ocean Park of today. In 1904, Kinney bought enough acreage south of Ocean Park to bring to realization his dream of still another town. It was to be featured by canals, bridges and arcades and was to be given the name of the ancient Italian city on the Adriatic. Its energetic builder worked fast. The new town was soon on its way. On December 5, 1904, the contract for St. Mark's Hotel was let; before the end of 1905 a system of canals was completed, with gondolas plying their waters to provide transportation for residents and for visitors desiring to take a ride in these quaint ancient boats. The new town soon came to be known as the Venice of America; but by 1927, the requirements of modern progress necessitated the filling in of the canals, and although they became but a romantic memory of the past, Venice continued to grow and is now one of the flourishing resort towns of the southwest coast.

Playa del Rey, Venice, Ocean Park and Santa Monica are actually as one continuous city, with a total population of 106,000.

Early California Resorts

TERMINAL ISLAND

One of the delightful resorts of a former day was Terminal Island, at that time about half-a-mile wide. On the ocean side, during the summer, the surf was free of the breakers which billowed shoreward along most of the Southern California Coast, and in consequence it was a favorite place for swimming.

Its attractions began to be realized in the early 1890's and in 1896 prominent Los Angeles families commenced building summer homes there. Among them were the William F. Bosbyshells, George A. Laubershimers, Judge Waldo M. Yorks, Ferdinand F. K. Rules, Dr. William W. Hitchcocks, Percy R. Wilsons, Lorin D. Sale, Jackson A. Graves, Charles B. Booths and William H. Avery (father of the late Judge Russ Avery).

This little resort which was known as Brighton Beach, was located on the ocean side of the island, about two miles below the old Southern California Fish Company, which was opposite the business district of San Pedro. In 1899, a long broad walk illuminated with electric lights was laid, and in the same year Frank S. Gordon built the Gordon Arms Hotel, which, for several years, was managed by Harry Fryman, later owner of the Hayward Hotel in Los Angeles.

At about this time, also, a pier was constructed, which during the season was lined with disciples of Isaac Walton, angling for the gamy corbina, then more commonly known as surf fish. Because it involves an extraordinary sequel, I will now take the liberty of relating a piscatorial incident in which I once participated.

One day, in 1898, my friend, Abe Kremer, who can testify to the truth of the first part of the story — and myself were fishing for croakers from a boat anchored in the channel; but our efforts resulted only in the capture of a few smelt. Tiring of this unexciting sport, I suggested to my companion that if he would row the boat, I would put a large hook on my line, bait it with a live smelt, and troll for a shark.

He agreed and before long I had a strike. After a twenty-

minute fight, to our great surprise, I brought in a yellowtail — the only one of this species as far as I know or have ever heard, that left its natural ocean habitat to stray into the channel.

In 1926, after I became master of my Masonic Lodge, it became my duty to visit a brother who was reported to be old, ill and destitute.

During the conversation, he asked me where I had been born, to which I replied "in Los Angeles."

"Well," he said, "I wasn't born here, but I came here forty year ago," whereupon he began to talk about the olden days, and among other things he related that while fishing, one day, from a little pier next to the cannery at Terminal Island, he noticed two boys fishing in the channel and said that one of them pulled in a yellowtail.

His astonishment may be imagined when I told him that I was that boy.

Some of us who knew the Terminal Island of those halcyon days may perhaps feel a pang of regret when we visit it now. In the second half of the first decade of this century, the government began filling in approximately two miles of the ocean side of the island; to dig some new channels and deepen, widen and straighten other natural ones, and today the island is an important shipping port and the locale of the huge Roosevelt Marine base and of many important industries.



From Boulder to the Gulf

By Margaret Romer, M. A.

(Continued from the March QUARTERLY)

CHAPTER XIX

UP RIVER IN THE LATE SEVENTIES

HAD YOU WISHED to go to Yuma or Ehrenberg any time between 1872 and '77, you would probably have boarded a steamer at San Francisco and voyaged down the coast to the tip of Lower California. Then, rounding Cape San Lucas, your ship would have fought its way over the restless waters of the Gulf of California to its head, into the river's mouth through the turbulent tidal bore, and on to the peaceful waters of Shipyard Slough.

Here you would have changed to a river steamer and ascended through the verdant delta to Yuma. If you were going farther up stream, you would have experienced the paradox of traveling by water through the desert. But before going on, let us look at Yuma.

The county seat had been moved here from La Paz in 1870. In '73 the telegraph had come. It was a military line, built by Uncle Sam and operated for the benefit of the people. Rates were exceedingly low. Building from San Diego, it reached Yuma, and extended to Maricopa Wells. From this point, one line went north to Prescott, and another went eastward to Tucson. A year later, the Tucson line was extended to connect with the East.²⁷⁵

We see, coming in from the west, a huge freight wagon with wide, high wheels over which the load fairly towers into the air. It is drawn by four or six teams of horses and mules; it has come across the desert from San Francisco or Los Angeles. Perhaps a similar wagon is dragging its way laboriously in from the southeast. This one, bringing freight from Sonora.

The warehouses reek with the stench of green hides which constitute the chief export of the region. Some ore is to be seen on the down-river boats too; but by this time most of the mines have their own smelters, and only the metal bars are shipped out.

Yuma has grown to a town of more than 2,000 people; but, owing to its geographical position, it handles as much business as most towns six times its size.²⁷⁶ In '73 the name had been changed from Arizona City to Yuma.

It has a live newspaper, *The Sentinel*, and a sanitarium. This institution features the treatment of diseases requiring heat and sunshine, and attracts many patients from the coastal regions.

In '77 the Territorial Legislature voted \$25,000 for a penitentiary to be constructed on the bluff at Yuma. Within the year, a substantial stone building was erected, where some fifteen prisoners could be kept. Additions were made to this institution later from time to time.

And what is this? Actually railroad tracks! On the trail where countless thousands of weary hooves had trod! In May, 1877, the Southern Pacific Railroad reached the California bank of the Colorado River opposite Yuma. No more weary treks across the thirsty desert on horseback or in a slow-moving wagon. And no more wagon freighters in from the West!

By fall of the same year the first railroad bridge was completed. It consisted of six spans, one of which opened to let the larger river boats go through. It could be opened or closed by one man in three minutes. Remember how the mission *padres* crossed on balsa rafts pushed by swimming Indians?

And the wonders of civilization were just beginning to come to the valley of the lower Colorado. The railroad at once built a large warehouse that included an ice house. Imagine the joy when ice was first brought to a region where summer temperatures reach 120 degrees!

But we are going up-river on a trip, so we take a last look at the active scene of Yuma with its dust, its Indians, its countless horses and mules, its soldier and its boats.

Our steamer moves on slowly up the brown, swift-flowing, willow-lined stream. Soon we are in the mountains, Mount Picacho,

From Boulder to the Gulf

or Chimney Peak, on our left. We make a stop at Castle Dome Landing and unload some supplies for the smelter here, and for the silver and copper mines some fifteen miles back in the mountains. Then we cruise through Cane Brake Canyon, the first of the Colorado's famous canyons going up stream. Soon we emerge into beautiful little Cibola Valley on the Arizona side. Some 16,000 acres could be made irrigable here. A little farther up, on the California side, is the Palo Verde Valley. We see an irrigation project on a comparatively small scale already under way.

Here, on the east bank of the river is Ehrenberg. Our boat docks and unloads a miscellaneous cargo of clothing, household goods, hardware, imperishable food stuffs, and miscellaneous articles not only for Ehrenberg itself, but for the mining region as far east as Prescott. On its return trip down the stream, our boat will pick up hides and possibly some ore or metal bars.

We take a walk through the dusty *adobe* town. We see men in rough clothes, miners, soldiers in uniform, an occasional officer, Indians in various garb but always with a touch of red, an occasional white lady in an elaborate lace-trimmed dress shaded from the relentless sun by a dainty parasol.

All Main Street smells like a saloon, varied with the odor of human sweat, for there is not a bathtub in the town. Sometimes the aroma of food and coffee from the eating houses mingles with the smell of many sweating horses and mules. A Concord stage drawn by six horses stands at the principal corner while the passengers stretch their weary legs and satisfy their hunger or thirst.

Just now an enormous freight wagon has driven off the ferry and pulled up before the principal saloon. It is drawn by twelve to twenty head of stock. It has come from Dos Palmas, a station on the Southern Pacific Railroad, and is en route to Prescott bringing supplies for that region from San Francisco. These freighters continued to plod over this road until as late as 1912.

Once more aboard our boat, we continue up the stream. Our captain points eastward to a distant settlement which was the once glorious but short-lived La Paz, now gasping its last. Even the river seems to have conspired to cut its young life short. The fickle

Colorado changed its course leaving the town two miles from its bank!

We pass a number of unused landings in various stages of dilapidation, relics of the "gold rush" of the previous decade. One of the chief of these is Camp Colorado some forty-seven miles above Ehrenberg.

We travel for forty-five miles through the Colorado River Indian Reservation. We observe the neat well-tilled fields of the Mojaves and Chemehuevis, and the substantial *adobe* buildings constructed for them by Uncle Sam some ten years before.

Then the valley narrows and we wind our way through Monument Canyon with its giant rocks towering in various shapes above. This is the spot where Parker Dam will be built more than half a century hence (1935).

Just above, the Bill Williams Fork empties its variable waters into the Colorado from the east. At the junction is Aubrey City. We feel that the "City" part of the name should properly be put in quotation marks, since the settlement is so small. Nevertheless, our steamer unloads considerable freight for the southern part of Mojave County, especially for the big McCracken and Signal mines. The mines of the great Planet copper load just south of Bill Williams Fork also have their supplies unloaded at Aubrey City; as well as the mines and settlements of the Big Sandy and its tributaries.

Soon we emerge into the beautiful little Chemehuevis Valley where the Chemehuevis Indians lived before they were moved to the reservation down stream.

Again we snake through a narrow canyon. The Needles, those sharp-pointed mountains, tower above us on the Arizona side of Mojave Canyon. And now we come to the Mojave Valley where Jedediah Smith, Whipple, Bartlett and Aubrey crossed the river, and where Beale first swam the camels across.

Here, on a bluff some sixty feet above the river, is the sleepy Fort Mojave on the Arizona side just above the point of Nevada. Again our steamer disgorges supplies. On March 30, 1870, 5,572 acres around Fort Mojave were set aside as the Mojave Indian Reservation for the hundreds of Indians living in the vicinity.²⁷⁷

From Boulder to the Gulf

The valley narrows as we approach the tiny settlement of Hardyville, the end of our journey on the river, only seven miles above the Fort. Hardyville was the county seat of Mojave County until 1877 when it was moved to Mineral Park in the new mining region in the mountains to the east. This left Hardyville very much like a toy balloon from which the air has escaped. The only thing that kept the village alive at all, thereafter, was the fact that the miners of northern Mojave County continued to have their supplies shipped in by way of river steamers to this point.

Up river from Hardyville, all is wilderness. The little Mormon settlement of Callville is already a deserted ruin. Dotting the mountains east of the river are a number of mining settlements, all small. Chief among these are Virginia City and Signal, twin towns on the Big Sandy just above its confluence with Bill Williams Fork. Each has its stamp mill where the ore from the surrounding mines is crushed.

Just north of Virginia City is the little Mexican settlement of Tortilla Flat. Its chief industries according to Hinton, are "raising watermelons, making *adobe* bricks and keeping the saloon."²⁷⁸

Mineral Park, the new county seat of Mojave County, has a population of about 200. The water there is so strongly mineral as to render it most unpalatable and drinking water has to be brought in from a neighboring canyon some miles away.²⁷⁹

Chloride Flat (now Chloride) is six miles north of Mineral Park and has two smelting furnaces and several gold mines near by. Both these towns are located on the west slope of the Cerbat Range, while the little mining village of Stockton Hill is around on the east slope. One more village of about 100 people east of the Peacock Mountains, completes the list of settlements in this section.

To the east of Mojave County, in Yavapai County, is Prescott, the military headquarters of the Department of Arizona. This department of the military includes the Territory of Arizona and "so much of the State of California as lies south of a line from the northwest corner of Arizona Territory to Point Conception, California."²⁸⁰ Within this Department are stationed the Sixth Regiment of Cavalry, the Eighth Regiment of Infantry and a few companies of Indian scouts.

Prescott had been the capital of the Territory of Arizona from 1864 to '67, but then the honor was captured by old Tucson and still later by Phoenix. To visit Prescott, we must go back down the river with our steamer as far as Ehrenberg. From there, we jolt over a road, first sandy and then rocky, in a Concord stage and gradually ascend the mountains to the Prescott region.

Prescott's "Gold Rush" followed that of La Paz, and it grew from a population of 668 in 1870 to about 4,000 by 1878. Isolated as it was in the mountains, all its supplies came in and all its bullion was shipped out by way of Ehrenberg.

Hinton in his *Handbook to Arizona*²⁸¹ published in 1878 gives the town the following interesting description:

"Prescott can boast of the finest school building of this or any other sister territory. It is of brick with recitation rooms on the first floor and a large audience room above. The building cost \$20,000 and was erected under the direction of ex-Governor Stafford, Superintendent of Public Schools. The number of children in daily attendance averages 150. They have two teachers, Mr. and Miss Sherman, who are very efficient. There are three churches — Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal South, and the Presbyterian."

The town also boasted a public library maintained by public subscriptions and entertainments.

And again Hinton says:²⁸²

"There is a sash, blind and moulding factory, a planing mill, several saw mills, brick yards, and lime kilns, two public halls, two newspapers, two hotels, several boarding houses, twenty-five stores, two drug stores, twenty saloons, three breweries, and over twenty lawyers."

Leaving Prescott, we must necessarily return to Ehrenberg and the river which is the only north-south highway through the region.²⁸³ The trip down river takes less time than the up trip, and soon we see again the "sandy street of quaint and queer-looking Yuma."²⁸⁴

And now let us assume that we are journeying overland from Los Angeles to the East. We have, presumably, reached Yuma over the new railroad, but we must continue our journey eastward up the Gila by stage.

Hinton in his *Handbook to Arizona* describes such a journey in

From Boulder to the Gulf

1878 in a most entertaining manner. Let us draw freely from his wording lest the story be spoiled in the telling:²⁸⁵

The driver is called the Jehu. First, a great wide stretch of avenue lined for a quarter of a mile by straggling *adobes*. To the east, the green row of willowy trees and bushes that line the river. Across its waters the eye rests upon the uncouth group of buildings there perched upon the sand-dune that has for so many years born aloft 'Old Glory' and told the weary traveler of "mine Uncle's" care and guardianship.

The stragglers are scanning the coach and its passengers. The post-master hastens to put the mail aboard; the lazy Indian in his breech-clout or ragged pants; the more picturesque Mexican; and the cynical, careless, stalwart American, stand round to watch the driver mount and the coach roll out. This is the yard or corral of Kerons and Mitchell, the proprietors of the Southern Pacific Overland Stages, and mail contractors on this and other routes. The force of men and animals employed in the stocking and running of such an enterprise is very much larger than one unacquainted with the business can imagine . . . The entire length of the Southern Overland Stage Company's routes and connections will aggregate nearly or quite 2,000 miles. At present the region traversed is very sparsely settled. The worse danger of the past — the marauding Apache — had ceased; and the one of the future — the road agents and their depredations — has not yet arrived.²⁸⁶

The coach rolls out and the traveler is fairly launched. He doubtless secures an inside seat, but if he is wise he will ride with the driver. Old hands at the business always make a point of this. Some good tobacco, a stray cigar, and perhaps a little pull at a convenient flask, will make Jehu pleasant and talkative. The overland drivers are *sui generis* — a class by themselves. Arizona has its characters, and not the least notable are found among stage drivers. Men of nerve, sobriety, and intelligence, as a rule, they fully deserve the confidence accorded. Most of them would be cool even if they were not

'Out of the gates of death,
Out of the jaws of hell.'

Their histories are peculiar; their language also; their ways are usually quiet, and from their ranks have come men of mark.

If the top of the vehicle is not heavily loaded, and is guarded by a rail, the traveler will do well to put a preemption thereon as a sleeping place. Of course he has provided himself with a large canteen, holding a gallon at least; and with his blankets, a good driver, and a fair day, it will go hard if he does not make himself as comfortable as the circumstances will allow. If an inside seat is secured, let it be one at the back and next the side. A good precaution is to carry a stout strap, which can

be passed around the coach door and the body, so that when sleeping the jolting of the vehicle will be thus prevented from throwing the passenger out of his seat. Of one thing heed must be taken. In no place is the spirit of courtesy and mutual accommodation more needed than in a crowded stagecoach starting out on a long journey. Rolling day and night over gravelly mesa, sandy river road, and stony mountain pass, there will be ample room for the exercise of all the finer courtesies and social amenities.

Gila City, twenty-four miles east of Yuma, the first mining boom town of 1858, is the first stop. A comfortable stage station is located there where fresh horses relieve the tired ones on the stage. The population is said to be nine, including a squaw, a papoose and three dogs!²⁸⁷ A few Indians still mine in the vicinity.

From Gila City the stage rumbles on to Mission Camp, fourteen miles beyond.

Agua Caliente (Hot Water), on the north side of the Gila, is another stop. This is the place where the Anza colony, en route to found San Francisco a century ago, had stopped to do a much-needed washing.

Beyond this, the road passes the well-marked graves of the Oatman victims at Oatman Flats.

At Pedras Pintados (Painted Rocks), the stage stops so that passengers may get out and see the carvings and hieroglyphics done by some unknown prehistoric race on this huge rock pile.

And so the old stagecoach rumbles and careens its way on toward the rising sun.

CHAPTER XX

RAILROADS, MORE RIVER VOYAGES, AND THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE IMPERIAL VALLEY



UT THE DAY OF THE STAGE COACH was fast drawing to a close. Already the Southern Pacific was building eastward from Yuma. The question of railroad routes to California had been a paramount issue throughout the country for the past two decades. Surveys had been made and wires pulled to include the



THE RUINS OF OLD CALVILLE

From Boulder to the Gulf

roads to go by this route or that. Whole libraries have been written on the subject.

The region of the lower Colorado River was never considered a destination in itself; rather, it was only so much territory to be crossed in order to reach California. Consequently, the long and complex history of the trans-continental railroad fights is not properly a part of our story. It is enough to say here, that two eastern railroads were organized with a view to building toward California over the two southern routes.

The Atlantic and Pacific was chartered in 1866 with an enormous land grant along the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude.²⁸⁸ No actual progress was made at that time, but the company re-organized in 1871 and made an active start. The panic of 1873, however, played such havoc with the finances of the company, that work had to be temporarily abandoned. Later, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad combined with the Santa Fé and continued construction work toward the Colorado River.

Meanwhile, the Texas Pacific was organized with plans to build from El Paso to San Diego by way of the Gila River route, crossing the Colorado at Yuma. Like its rival road, the Atlantic and Pacific, it was also allowed a land grant of forty square miles of territory for every lineal mile of right-of-way.²⁸⁹

The powerful Southern Pacific Company in California was determined that neither of these eastern companies should ever reach California. With this object for a stimulus the Southern Pacific pushed its construction work eastward toward the Colorado River with all possible haste. As has already been said, it reached Yuma in '77.

Fully realizing the immense volume of business that a trans-continental line over this route would ultimately yield, the Southern Pacific offered to build eastward from Yuma without the customary land grant. Thus was secured the right-of-way from the Texas Pacific and continued construction work up the Gila reaching Tucson by 1880. A year later, the Southern Pacific had connected with the Santa Fé at Deming, New Mexico; thus completing the long dreamed of transcontinental line over the southern route.

Meanwhile, the Atlantic and Pacific was pushing westward along the thirty-fifth parallel route. In 1883 this line reached the Colorado River at Needles, only to find a Southern Pacific railhead across the river. The California company had beaten the eastern company to the river at that point also. The Southern Pacific had built a railroad 242 miles across the desert from Mojave, California. But satisfactory terms were finally agreed upon, a bridge was built over the Colorado, and transcontinental travel over the thirty-fifth parallel route began that same year (1883).

The coming of the railroads was the death knell of that picturesque, though difficult, mode of transcontinental travel, the overland stage coach. Also, it marked the beginning of the decline of steamboat navigation on the Colorado.

Another railroad was projected into the region about this time, but never materialized. This was incorporated as the Denver, Colorado Canyon and Pacific Railroad. It was to run from Grand Junction, Colorado, to the Pacific, through the middle and lower canyons of the Colorado River.

The fine-charactered but overly optimistic president and promoter of this new company was Frank M. Brown. In 1889, Brown himself headed a surveying party that started down through the Colorado's canyons in six boats to determine the grade of the proposed railroad. The group included two guests and two colored servants.

The men, though splendid fellows all, were not fitted, either by training or experience, to cope with such overwhelming odds as the rough and violent water of the Colorado's canyons. The expedition ended as it must of necessity have ended, in tragedy. Three of the boats were wrecked; and two of the men, including the leader, paid the supreme sacrifice.

But the tragedy brought forth a new leader from the ranks of the party. This was Robert Brewster Stanton. The expedition broke up and left the river at Kanab Creek. But Stanton quietly dedicated himself to the task of finishing the work that Brown had begun. He went East and re-equipped for another attempt. He provided only three boats, but of a better design for the purpose than those used on the first journey.

From Boulder to the Gulf

The second party consisted of twelve men, four of whom, including Stanton, had been with the previous expedition. They started down stream at Glen Canyon and had Christmas dinner (1889) at Lee's Ferry.

Some thirty-five miles below this point, misfortune overtook them. The photographer of the party was attempting to reach a point from which an especially good view might be taken, when he fell a distance of twenty feet, landing on the rocks and fracturing his leg. With the utmost difficulty the injured man was alternately carried and hoisted out of the canyon, while Stanton made his way on foot back to Lee's Ferry to get help. The good Mormon, Mr. Lee, drove a wagon to the rim of the canyon, where the pain-racked man lay waiting, and took him home and cared for him.²⁹⁰

Then the surveying party pursued its course down the river. By a combination of skill, caution, and perhaps good fortune, they emerged from the Grand Canyon on March 17, 1890, without a mishap greater than the loss of one of the boats. From this point to the Gulf was a relatively simple matter when compared with the difficulties they had already surmounted. Tide water at the Gulf was reached on April 16, and here the party abandoned the two sturdy little boats that had carried them safely through the difficult 1,200-mile journey.²⁹¹

The survey reported favorably as to the feasibility of building a railroad through the canyons, from an engineering standpoint. But Wall Street could not see the project as a profitable venture from the financial angle. So, the labor and suffering of this expedition, as with some of those that had gone before, were wasted.

A year later, 1891, a geographical survey was made from Yuma to the Gulf by the eminent geographer, Godfrey Sykes.²⁹² His findings were most useful to navigators in distinguishing main channels from side channels.

Sykes called attention also, to the interesting things the river was doing with the countless tons of silt it was constantly bringing down from the mountains. Islands were frequently formed and then washed away again. The best known of these temporary keys was Hilda Island, which appeared that very year (1891) and was reduced to a shoal by 1903.²⁹³

In 1892, and again in '93, Sykes returned to the lower river to advance the study.

In 1896 another voyage was made through the canyons, this time by George F. Flavell and an unknown companion. They pushed off from Green River in a light, decked-over boat on August 27. But these men were trappers and prospectors, and were not interested in keeping a historical record of their trip; so the details are not known. They reached Yuma in December, and reported a lively and exciting river voyage.²⁹⁴

Meanwhile, important events were taking place in the northern part of our region. That section of Mojave County that lies north of the Colorado, was extended eastward to Kanab Creek in 1883, giving the county its present boundaries and area of about 12,500 square miles.

With the coming of the railroad, Kingman fairly leaped to prominence. It quickly became the principal railroad town of the county and soon the county seat as well.

Across the river on the California side, Needles made a similar rise to prominence. Previously, it had been one of the less important steamboat landings and outfitting points connecting with the old "Spanish Trail" that ran between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. In 1882, Needles was made the eastern terminus of the Southern Pacific, and from that time it began to prosper and grow.

That same year, the oasis of Las Vegas was purchased by Archibald Stewart. Mr. Stewart was killed soon after taking over the ranch, but his wife carried on and reared her family there. They made their living by raising food for the surrounding mining camps and by providing for travelers on the old "Spanish Trail."²⁹⁵

Sleepy old Fort Mojave spiked its guns in 1890. The buildings and grounds were transferred to the Indian Service for use as a school. What an improvement! Then, in addition to the reservation that had already been set apart for them in 1870, the Mojave Indians were also granted all the even-numbered sections on the lowlands as far south at Topac. The odd-numbered sections had been granted to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad when it built through to the Colorado.²⁹⁶

Even the great Salton Sink in the southwestern part of our

From Boulder to the Gulf

region, that most inhospitable section of the desert, was beginning to show signs of human activity.

Dr. Oliver Meredith Wozencraft, a San Francisco physician, had visited the valley in 1849. He was quiet, gentle, loveable, and a man with vision. He conceived the idea of reclaiming the Sink. His general plan was virtually the same as that which was followed later. He presented his ideas to the State Legislature and was sympathetically heard. In 1859 that body passed a bill proposing to cede to Dr. Wozencraft all state rights to the land on this desert, in consideration of his reclaiming it.

Government sanction was needed before this project could be begun. The bill was presented to Congress, but the country was on the verge of the great Civil War and it had no time for the uninhabited desert valley in the West. The Doctor waited patiently until the war was over and again went to Washington with his plans. He made trips to the Capital year after year, each time waiting, waiting, months at a time, in the hope that his bill would get a hearing; but always more pressing matters of state caused it to be set aside. He died there on his mission in 1887. He gave his life's work for the valley but never achieved success. His was a sad but beautiful story of perseverance and devotion. He has been called the "Father of the Imperial Valley."

In 1876 the Southern Pacific Railroad crossed on its way from Los Angeles to Yuma. In the eighties, the New Liverpool Salt Company established an extensive plant at the northern end of what is now Salton Sea. The salt was scraped up and piled by means of a steam shovel. Only a minimum of refining was necessary, as the salt was naturally white and pure. The plant operated profitably until 1906, when it was completely destroyed by the flood.

For several years in the nineties, the southwestern part of the Valley overflowed in the winter and early spring. This caused a luxuriant growth of grass. The cattle men from the mountains to the west were quick to take advantage of the feeding possibility, they herded their cattle into the valley by the thousands. When summer time came with its heat and dryness, the cattle were driven back to the mountains.

Mr. Frank Thing and his brother first came to the valley with

their cattle in 1891. Mr. Thing spent several winters there and later, when settlement began, went to Calexico as one of the first permanent settlers.

During one of his early winters in the valley, Mr. Thing by chance ran across a great pile of human skeletons. There were hundreds of them. Whether they were the remains of white men or Indians, he did not know. His duties did not take him back to the spot for many years. When he did return, he searched carefully for the bones, but was unable to find them again. He told many of his friends, and a searching party tried vainly to rediscover the skeletons. They had undoubtedly been covered by the drifting sands. Unless by some miracle, the story of those bodies will remain a secret which the great desert will never reveal.²⁹⁷

CHAPTER XXI²⁹⁸

ROCKWOOD AND THE BEGINNINGS OF RECLAMATION



THE MAN to whom the credit for the actual reclamation of the Salton Sink is chiefly due is Charles Robinson Rockwood. Mr. Rockwood was a man of vision, perseverance, and indomitable courage. He was born in Michigan in 1860. He attended the university of that state, but did not graduate as he was forced to leave an unfinished course because of trouble with his eyes. Engineering was the profession of his choice, so he came West. He was in the service of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad for two years and then with the Southern Pacific for seven years. In 1889 he entered the United States Geological Survey. He was chief engineer in the Yakima Valley Reclamation project in Washington, which was never completed because of the withdrawal of financial support.

John C. Beatty was a promoter of some prominence. He had learned of Mr. Rockwood's success and sent for him to investigate the possibility of irrigating a vast tract of land in Sonora, Mexico, from the Colorado River. Mr. Rockwood reported to Mr. Beatty that his project was impracticable.

While in Yuma, Mr. Rockwood heard of the Salton Sink, and

From Boulder to the Gulf

immediately investigated. He quickly saw the possibilities and made his reports to Mr. Beatty. The latter gave up the Sonora project and started the "Colorado River Irrigation Company" and began selling stock.

Mr. Rockwood began his survey of the Sink in the winter of 1882. He was assisted by his associate engineer, Mr. C. N. Perry. In the spring of 1893, they went to Denver to present Mr. Beatty their field notes and their plan. Mr. Beatty was well pleased, but a financial panic was upon the country and it was quite impossible to proceed at that time. Mr. Beatty made a trip to New York to try to interest Eastern capital. He succeeded but slightly, and most of what he did get was merely paper. Messrs. Rockwood and Perry had become so imbued with the spirit of the great enterprise that they determined to put everything they had into it in order to realize their dream.

Another problem that presented itself was that of securing land rights in the Mexican part of the valley. The land through which the main canal must be cut was owned by General Andrade, Mexican Consul in Los Angeles. The thing that complicated the situation was that a firm in Scotland held an option on the land. Mr. Rockwood journeyed to Scotland in a vain attempt to interest the holders of the option.

On his return from Scotland, Mr. Rockwood met Mr. John C. Beatty in Providence, Rhode Island, surrounded by luxuries purchased, it is said, with the money from the stock he had sold.²⁹⁹ Mr. Rockwood was too honest a man to tolerate that sort of proceedings, so he dropped Mr. Beatty forever. Mr. Rockwood however, was an engineer and not a promoter. He needed assistance in the handling of the financial side of the project. He therefore looked for another associate. He soon decided that Mr. Samuel W. Ferguson was his man. Mr. Ferguson was the manager of the Kern River Land Company and formerly a land agent for the Southern Pacific Railroad. He was honest, dependable, aggressive and experienced as a promoter. The two men became associated. Their first move was to borrow \$5,000 from Dr. W. T. Heffernan, a Yuma physician, for an option on the Andrade land in Mexico, the Scotland option having expired.

An eccentric old character named Hall Hanlon owned the land where the heading would have to be placed. The land was practically valueless except for that one purpose, but Hanlon held onto it stubbornly, demanding \$20,000. He would listen to neither pleas nor reason. Finally it was purchased by Mr. Rockwood and his associates, Messrs. Perry and Ferguson. They paid \$2,000 down, which they had also borrowed from Dr. Heffernan, their Yuma friend.

Mr. Rockwood next interested Mr. Anthony H. Herber of Chicago. Mr. Herber was a promoter of some prominence. He left a good position to come West and enter the work with Mr. Rockwood. He also left his wife and four children, telling them he would not be gone more than six months. It was four years before he returned. Mr. Heber had enthusiasm, ambition, confidence and business ability. Messrs. Rockwood, Heber and Ferguson incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, April 26, 1896. They called their firm the "California Development Company." They were capitalized for \$1,250,000. Mr. Heber was made president.

In the summer of 1897, Mr. Rockwood endured a two-months illness in a Boston hospital. While in that city in the interest of his beloved Valley, he was taken with typhoid fever, and there he suffered alone among strangers. The illness was serious, but his life was spared for the work he had yet to do.

On his recovery, he made a second trip to Europe in search of capital. There were two men there who he hoped to interest in his cause. When he arrived he learned that they had both died since he began his journey. He gained nothing by this second trip to Europe. Mr. Rockwood was by this time weary and discouraged, but it never occurred to him to give up the struggle. He had the tenacity of a bulldog.

On his return, he interested Mr. Silas B. Dutcher, President of the Hamilton Trust Company of Brooklyn. Mr. Dutcher agreed to finance the project. Mr. Herber was also in New York at the time. The two men were so elated over the success that they spent their last two dollars on a dinner to celebrate the victory. The next morning the papers came out with the announcement that the *Maine* had been sunk in Havana Harbor! This created uncertainty

From Boulder to the Gulf

in the financial situation in the country as a consequence of which Mr. Dutcher refused to carry out the agreement. War and financial depression followed. This meant hard times for the Company.

Suddenly Mr. Rockwood received word from Tyndall and Monk, an English firm, to come to London and close the deal. They would finance the project, they said. In almost uncontrollable joy, Mr. Rockwood journeyed to England for the third time. He was joined soon afterward by Mr. Heber. The deal was practically complete, and the two men hurried back to America to begin operations. Hardly had they reached this country, when the London company cabled that they could not complete the transaction. They gave no reasons. It has ever since remained a mystery.

The two men were now almost penniless. Mr. Rockwood had wealthy friends in Detroit whom he thought he might interest, but he did not have the money to take him there. Mrs. Heber had some valuable jewelry which was pawned to provide the means of Mr. Rockwood's trip to Detroit. Mr. Rockwood did not know until many years afterward where Mr. Heber secured the money for that trip.

After all, it was useless. Mr. Rockwood was then stranded in Detroit. At this point he had to accept a position with a Boston firm to go to Porto Rico and perform some expert services there. Mr. Heber was tired out; he returned to his family after four years of fruitless effort. Mr. Rockwood became president of the Company. He was not as elated over the honor as one might suppose, for it all looked so hopeless. Apparently every possible source of capital had been exhausted. Those most interested had also used up all their private resources. Mr. Rockwood was indeed discouraged. Could his fond dream ever be realized? The plans were complete. Every detail had been carefully thought out. All that was lacking was the money to carry out the work. The total liabilities of the California Development Company at this time were \$1,365,000. There was nothing to show for it but the filling on the river and the camp and surveying equipment. Even the filing had to be renewed. The Attorney-General of New Jersey began suit to cancel the charter of the Company for non-payment of the annual tax to the state.

Mr. Ferguson was the man who at last found a capitalist to finance the project. He telegraphed to Mr. Rockwood and the latter

lost no time in reaching Los Angeles to meet Mr. George Chaffey.

George Chaffey was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1848. He was forced to leave school at the age of fourteen because of ill health. For a while he worked for his uncle, who was a contracting engineer. Later he joined his father in the steamship business. He was captain of several vessels and had a first class engineer's certificate. In 1878, he won recognition as a ship builder. In time, his parents moved to Riverside, California. He came to visit them and remained in California.

In 1881, he and his brother, W. B. Chaffey, founded Etiwanda. He devised a mutual water company for that community, which became a model for all Southern California. In 1882, he designed a small power plant in connection with the Etiwanda irrigation system, to run a dynamo, and thus operated the first electric light in Southern California. The same year he installed in Los Angeles the first electric system in the world for street lighting. Also in the same year, he founded Ontario, California, and originated and endowed Chaffey College there.

The government of Victoria, Australia, became so interested in his work that it sent for him. He went, and accomplished great desert reclamation work there, besides founding several colonies. He then returned to the United States. His attention was called to the Imperial Valley. He considered it the greatest opportunity ever presented for reclamation work. He saw only the physical side. He did not investigate the financial side; but plunged immediately into construction work. On April 3, 1900, Mr. Chaffey signed a contract which practically gave him complete control for five years.

Mr. Chaffey experienced considerable difficulty with the Mexican government in getting permission to run the canals through Mexican territory. He had to agree to colonize part of the country in return for the desired permission.

Mr. Chaffey was with the Company only twenty-two months. In that brief time he constructed 400 miles of canals and laterals. His prestige secured publicity through the *New York Times*, *Tribune*, and *Post*, the *Philadelphia Press*, and the *Scientific American*. These papers gave much news space and made editorial comments on the enterprise.

From Boulder to the Gulf

Immediate colonization was the condition under which Mr. Chaffey joined the Company. The colonists were to take up land under the Desert Land Act. Accordingly, in March of 1900, the Imperial Land Company was organized. It was to be the colonizing agency. It was to receive twenty-five percent of the gross sales of water stock in the United States and of land sales in Mexico. It was to have all the townsite rights and was invested with all rights to power, light, telephone, railroad, and other similar franchises throughout the valley.

Mr. Chaffey invested much money besides putting up his personal possessions as security for the Company. Los Angeles banks would not accept valley securities. This curtailed the credit previously enjoyed by Mr. Chaffey and his brother. Mr. Chaffey brought the company, from no assets — but a camp and surveying equipment and liabilities to the amount of \$1,365,000 — up to a surplus of \$342,687.16.

The actual work was begun by Mr. C. N. Perry at Flowing Wells in April, 1900. The first work on the canals was done in December of the same year. The camp was next moved to Cameron Lake, which was an enlargement of New River. It was a beauty spot, an oasis in the desert. It was named after Mr. Cameron, a San Diego rancher who grazed his cattle there. Fishing was excellent, but the water was too bad for drinking, so the camp was moved to Silsbee.

Silsbee was situated on beautiful Blue Lake. Here the drinking water was better than at Cameron Lake, but still too bad for permanent use. It was here that the first Fourth of July celebration in the valley was held, in 1900.

Mr. George Hunt located in the Valley that same year, and six months later established the California and Mexico Company. In this, he interested General H. G. Otis of the *Los Angeles Times*. The result was the purchase of a ranch consisting of some 700,000 acres, partly in the United States and partly in Mexico.

The Imperial Land Company began an extensive publicity campaign. Settlers began coming in great numbers. In the fall of 1900, there was one voting precinct in the valley. Ten men voted there at the election that year.

Cameron Lake, being nearer the border, was a more convenient


location for the camp than Silsbee. For this reason, the camp was moved back to Cameron Lake.

But soon it was again moved; this time to the American side of the boundary line on the east side of New River on the townsite of Calexico, making that town the oldest settlement in the Valley.

In the fall of 1900, the Imperial Land Company laid out the townsites of Imperial, Calexico, Brawley, Heber, and Silsbee. Imperial was built up first. The Land Company did a flourishing business there. A post office was established and Dr. Heffernan was made postmaster.

CHAPTER XXII

EARLY LIFE IN THE IMPERIAL VALLEY

HE PRINCIPAL TOWNS of the Imperial Valley, excepting El Centro, developed at the same time. To characterize one is to characterize them all. But Calexico is the oldest settlement and the company headquarters, so was most closely related to the development of the valley as a whole. For this reason, a glimpse at the early life of Calexico will be most revealing.

Consider for a moment the conditions under which the brave pioneers existed. The temperature varied between 100 and 120 degrees for a large part of the year. There was no ice and no shade save the *ramada*, which was always the first structure to be erected in a community. It consisted of four or more uprights supporting a frame which was roofed over with dry brush. There were frequent sand storms, the fury of which must be experienced to be realized. One of these storms, worse than the average, laid low every tent in the settlement. Water had to be hauled from Indian Wells, one mile south of Silsbee. It was brought in a barrel dragged on a sled by a mule.

Passengers coming to Calexico had to leave the train at Flowing Wells and journey by stage to Imperial and the remainder of the distance by wagon. Freight was brought from the railroad by regular "freighters." These were heavy wagons drawn by a long

From Boulder to the Gulf

string of mules. This "freighter" took enough water for the round trip, when it started from Flowing Wells. At regular intervals it would drop off a barrel of water to provide for water supply on the return trip.

Construction work progressed very slowly for lack of money. Always the same monster, lack of capital, hovered over the project. The cost of construction always exceeded the available capital. The settlers were becoming restless, and they wanted to have the Government take over the work so that it might not be retarded for want of money. The Yuma project was being carried on at that time, and the settlers turned envious eyes on the progress being made there.

However, water reached the boundary line in June of 1901. A luxuriant growth of vegetation followed the water along the ditches, proving that water was all that was needed to make the desert bloom. Sorghum, milo maize, wheat, and barley were raised near Calexico, also a test crop of cantalopes, which was a thorough success. Travelers noticed the similarity of conditions there with conditions in Egypt. This suggested the possibility of cotton. The California Development Company tested out a few rows of cotton with marvelous success. By December, 1901, some 78,000 acres of land had been filed on, and actual work was begun on about 8,000 acres.

The year 1902 opened with glowing prospects, which however, were soon dampened by the reports of the Government. In the publications of the Department of Agriculture (Bureau of Soils, Circular No. 9, 1902), the percent of alkali in the soil was exaggerated. People were warned to stay away from the land there. They were advised to abandon the worst of it completely and raise only certain crops on the best of the land. This was a severe blow to the company. It discouraged the settlers who were already there, and undoubtedly kept many prospective settlers from coming. It was also bad for the company financially, as it made capital still harder to obtain. In spite of this handicap, the valley continued to prosper. By this time, colonists were literally pouring in.

The first woman to file on land in the valley was Mrs. Shenk. The land is now the "C. C. Ranch."

Hard feelings had arisen between the Chaffey brothers and the

original stockholders. In conclusion of the difficulty, the Messrs. Chaffey accepted \$300,000 for their interest in the company, and retired. To Mr. George Chaffey is due the credit for the material beginnings of the reclamation of that desert. Dr. Wozencraft and Mr. Rockwood dreamed and struggled, but Mr. Chaffey built. The aggregate credit, however, is more theirs than his, since it was not vision, courage nor ability they lacked, but only money, which Mr. Chaffey was able to supply.

The telephone and telegraph came into the valley about this time. The joy of the settlers on having telephone connection with Los Angeles was unbounded.

The first permanent building in Calexico was a small *adobe* which still stands, between the railroad and the border. It was built by Edward Aiken & Co. and was the home of the International Bank. The *adobe* building, which now houses the offices of the Irrigation District, was also built at this time. Very shortly thereafter, Dr. Heffernan built a store building, also of *adobe*, on the corner of Second Street and Imperial Avenue.

The remainder of the settlement was composed of a *ramanda* and tents. It was the custom for the owner to tie his tent flaps when he was away from home. This was the only lock that was needed. Practically never was anything stolen.

Among these crude surroundings in 1901 the valley's first child was born in a tent. Her parents were Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Beach. They named her "Cameron," after the lake. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Beach and Mr. Frank Thing later boasted the first frame residences.

Messrs. Perry and Beach planted the first trees in the town in the yard of the Beach home, along Imperial Avenue and on the California Development Company's grounds. It was they who conducted the cotton experiment.

The first school in the valley was taught by Mr. J. E. Carr. It was situated under a *ramada* three miles north and three miles west of Calexico, about midway between the towns of Calexico and Imperial. The district was known as the Imperial School District of San Diego County. The next year the school was moved into a tent three miles east which placed it on what is now the highway

From Boulder to the Gulf

between Calexico and El Centro on the main canal. Hon. John Shenk succeeded Mr. Carr as teacher.

In 1904 the district was divided, and a school was located in Imperial. The Calexico school was held in the same old tent which was moved into town and set up on the corner of Third Street and Imperial Avenue and was shared by the Methodist Church. Miss Gaskill, later Mrs. P. W. Preston, was the first teacher in the town school. The following year a school building was constructed and Miss McWilliams, later Mrs. J. E. Peck, and Miss Nautridge were the teachers. There were 113 pupils at this time.

The system of administering justice was unique. Mr. J. B. Hoffman was the first Justice of the Peace, both in the entire valley and in the town. There was no jail, so Mr. Hoffman improvised one. He chained a log to two mesquite trees and then chained his prisoners, by the ankle, to the log. The offenders were chiefly drunken Mexicans and Indians. Later a small frame building was constructed for a jail.³⁰⁰

Occasionally it was necessary to take a prisoner to San Diego, the county seat. The stage line across the mountains had long since been discontinued, so it was necessary to go to Los Angeles *via* the Southern Pacific and there change to the Santa Fé and go down the coast to San Diego. The round trip took four days.

Mr. Charles A. Sanborn was the Customs Officer. The United States Customs Service first established a station at Calexico about October 1, 1902. The first building occupied as a customs house was located on Imperial Avenue near the present railway crossing, and the official crossing to Mexico was an extension of Imperial Avenue. On July 1, 1904, the customs office was moved to a frame building on the northwest corner of Rockwood Avenue and First Street, and Rockwood Avenue was used as the official crossing into Mexico. The Immigration Service and the Customs Service were housed together until 1903, when the Immigration Service became a separate office.

The religious needs of the community were first met by church services held in the dining room of the California Development Company's building. It was during one of these services that the valley's first tragedy was announced. Mr. Perry was sitting in his

office when Charlie Dow, the chinese cook, came rushing in and shouted, "Mr. Pelly! One man plenty daid!" Upon investigation, he was found to be right. A man had been killed, but the murderer was never detected. The same Charlie Dow soon opened the first bakery in the town.

The Methodists and the Congregationalists both claim to be the oldest church. Both started in 1904.

During these early years there was but one piano in the town. This was borrowed for every important occasion and hauled about on a two-wheeled cart.

It was about this time also that Mexicali started. It was a natural outgrowth of Calexico, being the part of the settlement on the Mexican side of the line. The two towns were named by Mr. L. M. Holt (no relation to Mr. W. F. Holt.) Mr. Holt was a cripple and was popularly known as "Limpy." He disjoined the names California and Mexico and reassembled the syllables and evolved therefrom the names Calexico and Mexicali. It was also he who gave the Imperial Valley its name, although the credit is usually given to Mr. Chaffey.

Life was not all work and no play with the pioneers. They did more than their share of work, but when they played, they played equally hard. Horse racing was perhaps the leading sport. Imperial Avenue was the race track and many and exciting were the races held there.

Another amusement was provided by fastening a five or ten dollar bill to the end of a well-greased pole, then swinging the pole out over one of the irrigation ditches. Anyone wishing to climb for the prize was welcome to do so. Ninety percent of the contestants landed in the ditch. This sport was an unending source of merri-ment.

In the fall of 1902, the Southern Pacific Company began work on the extension from Old Beach (now Niland) to Calexico. It was completed and in full operation in May of the following year.

With the railroad came many other conveniences, not the least of which was ice. It is difficult to imagine how these early pioneers survived the heat without ice. It is no wonder that the day of its coming was celebrated as a legal holiday. All business was sus-



— Hetzel Photo

CHARLES ROBINSON ROCKWOOD
*to whom is chiefly due the reclamation
of the Salton Sink.*

From Boulder to the Gulf

pended for the afternoon and the town had a big party at which everyone ate ice cream.

Very soon after the coming of the railroad, the "boom" began. By that time there were over 700 miles of canals in the valley.

A small settlement had grown up around Barnes' store a quarter of a mile east of the present town limits and a quarter of a mile north of the border. It was thought that this settlement would be the town and Calexico would be merely the company's headquarters. Natural growth, however disproved this theory, and in 1904 the post office was moved from Barnes to Calexico. The store soon followed the post office, and today nothing is left of Barnes but the memory.

The post office was placed in Dr. Heffernan's store at Second Street and Imperial Avenue. Joe Estudillo was the postmaster.

This same year also witnessed a great auction sale of lots. Regular excursions were operated from Los Angeles and many were the families who came to make their home on the newly reclaimed desert.

The Calexico *Chronicle* printed its first issue in a tent under a mesquite tree in 1904. Mr. Overshiner was everything, including owner, editor, printer and janitor. The next year he sold out to Mr. W. F. Holt, who moved the equipment to a frame building at First Street and Imperial Avenue.

A brick factory was started to meet the demands of the "boom." Messrs. Harbour and Peterson came from Los Angeles with a knowledge of brick-making. Bricks were easy to sell but not so easy to make under desert conditions. It was such hot work that it was very difficult to secure labor. However, they started a kiln at Calexico and made brick, the first of which were used in the Calexico Hotel. Mr. Peterson did most of the work, and the firm not only made brick but took contracts for putting up the buildings in the valley up to 1910. The factory was soon after discontinued.

The Mount Signal district took form about this time.

Before passing on to later times, let us make a closer acquaintance with the real builders of the valley. As has already been stated, the company's headquarters were at Calexico. Mr. C. R. Rockwood, the real Father of the Valley, was Chief Engineer and

General Manager. Mrs. Rockwood was with him, helping him, sharing his disappointments and doing the countless things which pioneer women always do but for which they seldom receive credit or glory.

Mr. C. N. Perry was Mr. Rockwood's right hand man. His official capacity was that of Assistant Chief Engineer. His work for the valley can never be measured. He was a leader in every sense of the word. He had a large square jaw that betrayed the determination of a bulldog, yet he was directed by a keen intellect. He had foresight, wisdom and industry. He had the strength of a giant, yet the gentleness of a child. Mrs. Perry's fortitude and character were also evidenced by the fact that she stood by her husband's side through all those early struggles.

Messrs. E. H. Gaines, F. F. Hall and D. L. Russell were also engineers on the project. Mr. L. R. Rockwood, brother of the Chief, was a chainman.

Dr. Heffernan was not only a financier for the valley, but came to make his home in Calexico and served as the pioneer doctor for the community.

Other names inalienably associated with pioneer times in the valley are those of Hoffman, who first administered justice; Thing, who found the pile of human skeletons on the desert in the early 1890's and who later opened the first meat shop in Calexico; the Beaches, who gave the Valley its first new-born child; Peck; and others.

Lack of space forbids the mention of them all.

But the story of the early days would hardly be complete without mention of old Borego, the town's Indian mascot. He was a character such as one seldom meets even in story books. He was past eighty, had no money and needed none. He lived on what he could pick up, an odd job for a meal here, another there. Often meals were given him. He slept anywhere. Why should he care where? His strangest trait was that of wearing *everything* he had. People were generous in gifts of discarded clothing and he wore them all at one time! Perhaps he would have three or four vests and as many coats on when the thermometer was over 100. When questioned as to why he wore them all, he would always reply with the question,

From Boulder to the Gulf

“What else shall I do with them?” He was everyone’s friend and the enemy of no man.

The early-comers to the valley were of three distinct classes: The first class was comprised of men who had strength, courage and determination. The second class was much smaller in numbers and consisted of men of wealth who took up large tracts of land for speculation. The third class was composed of adventurers who had no money and very little determination or courage. They desired only to sow little and reap much. Through natural processes, this class disappeared. It soon found that the reward could not so easily be gained. Men of this class were, at first, numerous and had considerable unfavorable influence upon the better people at that time, but they added nothing of value to the history of the valley.

The early days were days that tested men and women. They went through wind, fire and flood. The weaker ones returned to the comforts of advanced civilization. Only the strongest remained. The result of this natural sifting is a strong, homogeneous mass of people. It has left only people of sturdy character who are self reliant and aggressive.

Out of this class of people has grown the far famed “Spirit of the Valley.” This spirit is intangible, yet it is definitely felt by everyone who has lived there. It is composed of ability to do things and the desire to do things well. It is a feeling of faith in one’s self and in the valley. It is optimism to the limit of good sense. It is a feeling of confidence in others as well as one’s self. It involves the spirit of cooperation and extends wide open arms to the stranger who is made of the right kind of stuff and will, himself, enter into the “Spirit of the Valley.”

(To be continued in the September QUARTERLY)

NOTES :

- 275. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 318.
- 276. *Ibid.*, 250.
- 277. *Ibid.*, 314.
- 278. *Ibid.* 252.
- 279. *Ibid.*
- 280. *Ibid.*, 308.
- 281. *Ibid.*, 257.
- 282. *Ibid.*, 253.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

283. Excepting a few very bad local connecting roads.
284. Hinton, *Handbook to Arizona*. 168.
285. *Ibid.*, 168-171.
286. Note how Hinton predicted the road agents and their depredations.
287. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. 500.
288. *Ibid.*, 603.
289. *Ibid.*, 604.
290. Freeman, *The Colorado River, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. 308.
291. *Ibid.*, 321.
292. Sykes, "The Delta and Estuary of the Colorado," *Geographical Review*. XVI, 240. April, 1926.
293. *Ibid.*, 242.
294. Freeman, *The Colorado River Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*. 335.
295. Scrugham, *Nevada*. 590-591.
296. *Water Supply Paper No. 578*, U. S. Geographical Survey, Washington, 1929. P. 729.
297. Personal interview with Mr. Thing at Calexico in 1922.
298. The material in chapters XXI to XXIV is taken largely from the author's monograph, *A History of Calexico*, published in the 1922 *Annual of the Historical Society of Southern California*.
299. Howe, *Story of the First Decade*; also statements of early settlers.
300. "Bob" Davis gained the reputation of being the "town nuisance." he continually broke the laws but was never convicted because nothing could be proved against him. He was very proud of his achievements and continually boasted of them. On one occasion while he was being detained in the jail, he upset it, and still later he burned it.

Book Reviews

By The Staff

INDIANS AND PIONEERS OF OLD MONTEREY. By James Culleton. Academy of California Church History, Fresno, California, 1950. Pp. 286, Index, Ills. \$5.00.

Here is gathered the facts of California's early beginnings when the Mission was the center of the community and surrounding *ranchos*. Instructions came from the College of San Fernando where such laws as seven hours of work each day except Sundays and holidays were made. The author has compiled first records of the church along with data from visitors to Monterey and other parts of California of that day. Dr. Rollin, Vancouver, and others, along with ship logs, are quoted to add to the whole, giving a vivid picture of locale that typifies the settling of California by the Spaniard. Carmel Mission was primarily to cover both the spiritual and material needs of the Indian, while the church at Monterey was for the soldiers' and their families' benefit. However, in those times, the Mission was often called upon to care for the *pueblo*, also. The author carries the reader from the time of Cabrillo's skirting of the California shore down to the end of Amoro's pastorate at Carmel.

Each chapter is preceded by a brief resumé of its content. While the chapter content is broken into items of interest taken from record and presented in a most readable manner. Here death, birth, christening, marriage and the shortage of wheat become more than a statistic. They are a picture as well. The *Appendix* is as full of interest as the body of the book. Herein he tells of Indian lore. There are notes and references concerning foregoing chapters, with a complete index.

Monsignor Culleton's book is one that should find a place on the library shelf for reference as well as for reading. To quote from his own *Preface*: ". . . It is hoped that romancers, both vocal and scriptural, may find what follows helpful in keeping their imaginations within reasonable bounds . . ." — A.L.C.F.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE YEARS BETWEEN. By Brook D. Gist. Photographs by Bruce Comer, Lithographed by Sierra Printing and Litho Company, Fresno, California. Illustrated. Maps; Pp. 239. \$3.50.

THE YEARS BETWEEN is dedicated to the pioneers of the San Joaquin Valley who blazed the trails, then paved them to make easier the way for those to come.

This story of the San Joaquin Valley was not gleaned by book research. It was gleaned from the people who have lived on the land and watched it grow with the help of the natural resources. Life on the San Joaquin was a continual fight. The land was raw. A winter draught and the summer heat made it a desert waste. Fortune smiled, harnessed water made irrigation, then verdant vines covered the ground. Corn fields fattened herds of cattle. Oil seepages became fields of derricks and we find the rich valley of today. —
M.L.P.

FLOWING VALLEY. By Orville J. Harrell. McBride Company, New York. Pp. 242. Ills. \$3.00.

FLOWING VALLEY is the story of a land that nestles at the foot of the Sierra. Still the echo of the guitar played by the *caballero* and the song of the *senorita* filters down through time. This narrative pictures the era when man's work began at dawn with the crowing of the cock and ceased at nightfall.

The author tells the story of the coming of the U. S. armed forces in 1846, among these were soldiers with avaricious and plotting instincts. To take without a "by-your-leave" was easily excusable to themselves. There was so much riches of land and herds for so few persons that these newcomers felt that a little less would hardly be missed. To take a "squat" or a parcel of land from a corner of a great *rancho* or drive a herd of cattle or a band of horses onto this parcel was a negligible act to them.

But there was one, Alexander Martin, who sought the right along with the hand of the beautiful Senorita Maria. The forthright surveyor coming west with the army won the respect and love of the Californians and stayed to call this lovely land "home." —
A. B. P.

Book Reviews

FORTUNE FAVORS THE BRAVE. By Dr. Benjamin S. Harrison. Ward Ritchie Press, Los Angeles, 1953. Pp. 308. Ills. Index. \$7.50.

This is the biography of the respected pioneer Californian, Horace Bell. It not only tells the story of one *Angeleno* but it gives the background and intriguing episodes of the people and life in the slowly growing city of Los Angeles from 1853 to the time of his death. In the *Porcupine*, published by the Major, he called a spade a spade. This newspaper was his voice and he raised it loudly against injustice. "Horace Bell," as the early Californians called him, was a true friend to those in need.

Dr. Robert G. Cleland, the eminent historian and author, in his *Preface* proclaims this book a valuable contribution to the history of Southern California. — Rev. P.C., S.J.

THE INDIANS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA IN 1852. *The B. D. Wilson report and a selection of contemporary comment.* Edited by John Walton Caughey. Huntington Library Publications. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1952. Pp. 154; bibliography. \$3.50.

This work is compiled from the *Wilson Papers* in the Huntington Library collection. The editor has preceded these with an introduction which summarizes the background of Indian affairs of that day and characterizes the men interested in putting the reservation system into action in California. Benjamin Wilson, married to Dona Ramona Yorba, was well respected by the Californians and Americans alike. His was a sub-agent appointment to Indian Affairs but was thought to be much benefit in commuting his findings of the Indians' needs because of his personal knowledge of them and of Southern California. Benjamin Hayes, because of his interest in law and his penchant for the Indian welfare through his Church work, was deemed the best to assist Wilson at desk work. And Edward F. Beal was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, representing the government prior to this appointment in various ways, having served in the Navy. Together these men planned to organize the reservation system since they felt the Indian had done well while under the care of the church, paying for their own keep and learning trades. When the Church had been suddenly secularized they had been thrown on their own and some had

reverted to the wild ways of those roaming in the interior, and raiding the herds of the *ranchos*. These men felt that adapting the old Mission plan of helping the Indian under the guidance of the Government would best foster help and control of the Indian, both wild and so-called civilized. They hoped that the program would be attractive to the Indians and at the same time self-supporting.

Dr. Caughey has set forth here the hopes and disappointments of Wilson, Beal and Hayes in their endeavor to help the Indian who had yet to learn the White man's way. In the publishing of these papers an insight into life in Southern California a century ago is well depicted.





— Los Angeles Herald-Express Photo.

PILGRIMAGE TO FORT TEJON

Members of the Society starting on the Annual Pilgrimage, this year to Fort Tejon, to dedicate a plaque to Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale. From left to right, Mrs. Edmund F. Ducommun, Marco R. Newmark, Dr. Aubrey Nesham, Edmund F. Ducommun, Mrs. Frederic C. Ripley, Roger J. Sterrett and Frederic C. Ripley.

Activities of the Society

APRIL 28, 1953

Members and their friends responded to an invitation from President John C. Austin to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of Powered Flight, 1903 - 1953.

Mr. Woodruff De Silva, manager of the International Airport, gave a most interesting talk on the first attempt to fly in Southern California. The *Societe de Autolocomotion Aeriene* planted the seed in 1862. Two years later this organization became *Societe de Aviation* — the first record in the world of the word “aviation.” The early beginnings of aviation were centered around Santa Ana, but not until 1908 did Glenn Martin launch his “Pusher Martin.” From here, the speaker went on to tell about Dominguez Field receiving world attention by holding the first international air meet in the United States, January 10 to 20, 1910. Then he listed the pioneers in the field of flight and the companies they founded that have now made this locality a center of aviation. The President thanked Mr. De Silva for his very informative and educational speech on the transition of the airplane.

Refreshments were announced and friendly groups reminisced over the coffee cups. Pouring at the coffee urns were Mesdames Edmund F. Ducommun and John Wolfskill.

MAY 23, 1953

President John C. Austin and many members of the *Historical Society of Southern California* gathered together with the *Historical Society of California* from the north to participate in the preview of the complete restoration of “Queen Anne Cottage” at the Los An-

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

geles County Arboretum on the Lucky Baldwin estate at *Rancho Santa Anita*. Dr. R. J. Seibert director of the Arboretum, was host at this gathering.

Mr. Maurice Block, director of restoration of the cottage and a former curator at Huntington Museum, told of the forty years of havoc rent on the old house through neglect. A fortunate discovery of marble tile and stained glass windows make a formal restoration of the historic building. He indicated that the next in line for restoration was the humble old home where Lucky Baldwin spent his last days. This is a traditional fusion of an Early California *adobe* and a clapp-board North American cottage, a true historic picture of the transition period of our state.

Mrs. Oscar Lawlor, as hostess of the day, welcomed guests and members who, after the speeches, enjoyed a delightful boxed chicken luncheon under the aged trees at this memorable site.

MAY 26, 1953

President John C. Austin announced the occasion to be of great significance as the *Historical Society of Southern California* was host to California's newly appointed state historian, Dr. Aubrey Neasham.

Dr. Neasham in his address said that two million dollars of the state's Park Fund would be sought to start a statewide preservation and historic sites in thirty areas throughout California. He spoke of the historic *Plaza* district where the restoration should portray history chapter by chapter.

Hostesses of the evening who dispensed hospitality and refreshments at the festive board were Mesdames Ernest Yorba and Beatrice Sabichi Mitchell.

JUNE 13, 1953

The Twenty-Sixth Annual Pilgrimage of the *Historical Society of Southern California* was dedicated to the commemoration of the centennial of the founding of the Indian Reservation of the Tulares by Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale. The headquarters were es-

Activities of the Society

tablished in Grapevine Canyon, which site later became Fort Tejon — just off the present Ridge Route.

The pilgrims of the day assembled at the Society's Headquarters at 9:00 A.M. to board motor coaches and private cars to form a calvacade traveling over mapped highways. A stop at historic *Campo de Cahuenga* in Universal City was made first. Here the peace treaty in January, 1847, was signed by General John C. Frémont and California's General Andres Pico. This ended the strife between the United States and Mexico.

Then the cavalcade moved on along San Fernando Road and paused to view the trembling cascade of Owen's Valley River water which was the first outside water supply to come into Los Angeles in 1913. Then across the railroad tracks went the pilgrims where they stopped at the side of the road on the site of the old Toll House at the foot of the first grade to be cut through the San Fernando Mountains in order to reach Grapevine and hence the lower San Joaquin Valley.

Along the way markers recalled such historic spots as Placerito Canyon where California gold was first commercially mined in 1842. Next was the reminder that in nearby Railroad Canyon stands the earliest oil refinery built by the Star Oil Company to process crude oil taken from Pico Canyon. This oil deposit was first discovered by the *padres* of the San Fernando Mission.

Modern transportation carried the pilgrims on over the four-lane Highway 99 many times in sight of the percipitous narrow dirt road over which Lieutenant Beale sent wagon loads of supplies and through the Beale Cut to the Toll Gate, which he maintained, and out into the San Fernando Valley.

At Fort Tejon, a California State Monument, the *Historical Society of Southern California* and the *Kern County Historical Society* met jointly to enjoy a basket luncheon. Then they brought to a climax an auspicious occasion by unveiling a dedicatory Bronze Plaque bearing the inscription:

“TO THE MEMORY OF

LIEUTENANT EDWARD FITZGERALD BEALE

1st SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN CALIFORNIA
APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT MILLARD FILLMORE 1853.”

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Vice-President Gustave Arlt and Landmarks Chairman Edmund F. Ducommun drew the veil and presented the tablet, which was accepted in behalf of California by State Historian Dr. Aubrey Neasham.

Following the dedication, guests were guided through the old buildings by Ranger Louis Wakefield, some were in complete repair while others were in various stages of restoration. The group from Kern County were under the leadership of Messers Richard Bailey and Frank Latta. The trek then returned to Los Angeles where the calvacade disbanded until next year's pilgrimage.

HISTORIC DAYS IN OIL INDUSTRY RECALLED

In recognition of the oil industry pioneers who participated in the drilling of California's first commercial oil well, the California Star Oil Company Well No. 4 in Pico Canyon, the *Petroleum Production Pioneers* on June 6, 1953, unveiled and dedicated a bronze plaque marking the site of the well. The well was completed and started production in September 1876.

Jules Toussaint, vice-president and general manager of the production department of the Standard Oil Company of California was the speaker of the day. He recalled "The Olden Days" in giving historic highlights and early-day events, stating that he was indebted to Mrs. F. C. Ripley, *Historical Society of Southern California* director, who has done a great deal of research and brought forth pertinent facts on the history of oil development in California.

In 1869 and 1870 a well was drilled at the head of Pico Canyon by the old spring-pole method, the driller was the pioneer Sanford Lyon, father of our respected member, the late Adi Lyon of Newhall. After seventy years this well is still pumping.

Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Ripley are makers and recorders of petroleum history. The speaker of the day paid high tribute to the lovely lady who is historical consultant to the *Petroleum Production Pioneers*.

An Appreciation from Joseph Scott . . .

To The Editor:

I can't resist the impulse to express my keen appreciation for your current issue of the "Quarterly." I have always welcomed it at my rather busy desk, but today I am beginning to realize the amount of splendid editorial work that is done, and the scholarly research undertaken to produce your magazine.

I am referring from personal knowledge to two articles, "El Alisal" by Dudley Gordon, and "Madame Modjeska in California," by Mamie R. Krythe. Knowing Mr. Lummis as I have for many years I was astonished and gratified to realize the accuracy and thorough scholarship of Mr. Gordon in giving you this pen picture of a great Californian and consummate scholar.

Madame Modjeska in California also interested me, and we are indebted to Mrs. Krythe for a splendid review of a fine Californian, a gracious lady and a supreme actress.

Keep up the good work and more power to you.

Accept the profound thanks of a humble buck private,

JOSEPH SCOTT

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Every member of the Society has some historic article that would be welcomed, and THE QUARTERLY sincerely hopes that the names of all our members will be recorded from time to time in the gift column.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

* * *

MR. WARD ALLEN: Historic newspapers: *Los Angeles Examiner* dated August 27, 1929; this issue contains an illustrated story of the Graf Zeppelin and its Commander Dr. Hugo Eckener on the momentous occasion of its visit to Los Angeles. The *Star*, London, England, dated Saturday, March 11, 1933; featuring the account of the Long Beach Earthquake thus: "Long Beach, the home of millionaires and wealthy Americans and a famous holiday resort, has been practically wiped out."

HON. FLETCHER BOWRON: A zinc box which was taken from the cornerstone of Blanchard Hall in the Newmark Building at 233-235 South Broadway. On November 25, 1898, many mementos of that day were sealed in this box for posterity. Among these were photographs, newspapers, letters, sheet music and a monetary token. Other gifts from Mr. Bowron were recordings made on the eighty-fourth birthday of Joseph Scott; a set of five recordings made at the Roosevelt Memorial in Hollywood Bowl on April 23, 1945; and two discs on the dedication of William S. Hart's Hollywood Park, January 18, 1945, made up the other recordings. A detailed story of this particular presentation will be printed in the next issue of the QUARTERLY.

Gifts to the Society

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM DRYER: Autograph card signed by James W. Marshall on January 19, 1848. Ironically, the income from the sale of these autographs gave the discoverer of gold in California spending money through his old age. Publication, *Santa Ana, A Narrative of Yesterday* by Charles D. Swanner. *Pen Sketches of Los Angeles*, a pictorial story of the city's development in 1896 showing the old red stone courthouse, the old City Hall on Broadway, the Bradbury Building that still stands at Third and Broadway, and the block of buildings between Commercial and Aliso Streets are today mute reminders of the early 90's.

MR. EDMUND F. DUCOMMUN: Newspaper clipping dated May 16, 1857, announcing the removal of the C. Ducommun store of books, watches, jewelry, fancy goods, cutlery, fancy hardware, oils, paints, colors, varnishes, turpentine and many more items. "Stock is superior to any offered in this city and will be sold cheap for cash." The new location was to be on the corner of Main and Commercial Streets. A vellum map of the subdivision of the Alaniz Vineyard tract, May 5, 1869, by Messrs. I. W. Hellman and Charles Ducommun. A map of Long Beach as a new American Colony tract. Document, agreement between Charles Louis Ducommun and John G. Downey, assignee of James B. Winston, George M. Matfield and others, and H. K. S. O'Melveny as administrator of the estate of John King, deceased, property at the northwest corner of Main and Commercial Streets. Historic document and affidavit dated October 23, 1888, substantiating the ownership by Isaac Williams in 1847 of property known as the Government House leased by the U. S. Army under General S. M. Kearney for Company C of the First Dragoons. Pico claimed and mortgaged same just before leaving for Mexico, August 18, 1847, but it was proven conclusively that this *adobe* string of housing definitely belonged to Williams. Later this became the site of the famous Bella Union Hotel. Unlimited Certificate of the Title Insurance and Trust Company No. 47,510. Certificate of Title by Pickett and Kelly of four lots. Street Improvement Bond Lot (207 Cameron Tract).

E. ERIC LARSON, M.D.: *San Francisco Chronicle* 47th Anniversary issue of the 1906 Earthquake with exclusive photographs. This is an historic reminder of that tragedy.

MR. HERBERT S. MARSHUTZ: Invitation to a meeting of the *Southern California Science Association* signed by R. R. Baumgardt, secretary. Paper to be presented was *Professor Roentgen's X-Rays*, announcing the discovery of the x-ray translated and read by the late Mr. S. G. Marshutz, March 7, 1896.

MR. MARCO R. NEWMARK: Photostat of a page of the *Los Angeles Times* dated January 11, 1936, containing the last column of "The Lancer," the

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

well-known Harry Carr. The annual publications of the Los Angeles County Pioneers dated 1910-1911 and 1914-1915. A history of the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad.

MR. SID PLATFORD: Three bound volumes of the Los Angeles High School annual *The Blue and White*, summer of 1898 and winter of 1899, summer 1900 and summer 1901. These annuals tell the story of the past generation of stalwart citizens, many of whom are no longer with us. Booklet reconstructing the story of the Los Angeles City Hall *Twenty-Five Years of Municipal Progress in Los Angeles, 1928-1953*.

MR. CHARLES PUCK: A panel of nine photographs of historic Fort Tejon dating back to 1916, before the restoration of the old fort.

MR. FRANK ROLFE: Large clock of the American Period that dongs the hour and the half hour. Small miner's square used by the doner's father in the Crown Point Mine on the Comstock Lode at Gold Hill, Nevada.

MRS. MARSHALL STIMSON: Bound files of the magazine *On Desert Trails*. The story of the *Hickborn Papers* by Dean E. McHenry. *The Burrell Letters* autographed to Mr. Marshall Stimson by R. R. Stuart. Two issues of Volume 37, *California Law Review*.

Publications
of the
Historical Society of
Southern California

2425 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 5, California
DUUnkirk 2-5582



1892 — Annual Containing the Sutro
Documents with translations . . . each \$3.00

1931 — One Hundred Fiftieth Anni-
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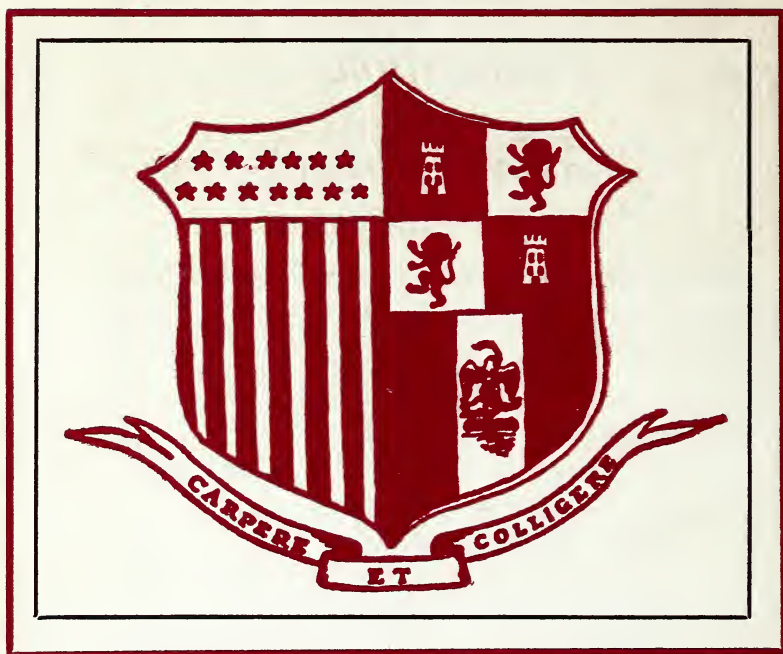
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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

Contents for September, 1953

INFLUENCE OF THE RAILROADS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOS ANGELES HARBOR	195
<i>By Franklyn Hoyt</i>	
BANCROFT'S LOST LETTER - - - - -	213
<i>By Edward A. Dickson</i>	
THE FAMILY OF PICO - - - - -	221
<i>By Helen Tyler</i>	
INDIANS OF SAN BERNARDINO VALLEY AND VICINITY - - - - -	239
<i>By Helen Pruitt Beattie</i>	
PHINEAS BANNING: Intrepid Pioneer - -	265
<i>By Marco R. Newmark</i>	
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (PART VII)	275
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS - - - - -	295
CURRENT HAPPENINGS - - - - -	297
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY - - - - -	298
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY - - - - -	301

Volume XXXV

Number 3



FOUNDED 1883



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for over half a century. Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 this *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published at Los Angeles, California, each March, June, September and December.

The purposes of this Society are to preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest, with particular stress on Southern California; to publish material of permanent historic interest and significance; to assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities; to hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles, except during the summer months, and at least once a year to gather in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

The Society welcomes to its membership all persons who are in sympathy with its aims. It derives its entire income from the dues and gifts of members, and all regular publications are offered to members without further charge.

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* * * * *

Address articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the QUARTERLY, and general Society correspondence to:

The Secretary,
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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



HOME OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The
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CONTENTS:

INFLUENCE OF THE RAILROADS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOS ANGELES HARBOR - - - - -	195
<i>By Franklyn Hoyt</i>	
BANCROFT'S LOST LETTER - - - - -	213
<i>By Edward A. Dickson</i>	
THE FAMILY OF PICO - - - - -	221
<i>By Helen Tyler</i>	
INDIANS OF SAN BERNARDINO VALLEY AND VICINITY - -	239
<i>By Helen Pruitt Beattie</i>	
PHINEAS BANNING: Intrepid Pioneer - - - - -	265
<i>By Marco R. Newmark</i>	
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (PART VII) - - - - -	275
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS - - - - -	295
CURRENT HAPPENINGS - - - - -	297
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY - - - - -	298
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY - - - - -	301

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1953

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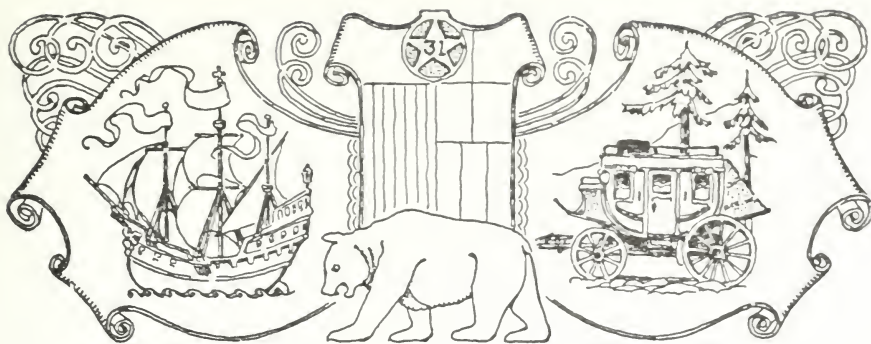
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for September, 1953

Influence of the Railroads *in the* Development of Los Angeles Harbor

By Franklyn Hoyt

For more than a century the main seaport for Los Angeles had been the miserable harbor at San Pedro. When Dana visited San Pedro Bay in 1835 he complained that it was the worst harbor he had seen. "exposed to every wind that could blow, except the northerly." But it was the only port for eighty miles and for this reason handled a large amount of shipping and was the leading hide port on the coast.¹

During the Spanish and Mexican period transportation from Los Angeles to the harbor was by mule and ox-cart. After the American conquest some large freight wagons began to be used, but even in the 1860's a large amount of freight was still carried by the creaking carts. Agitation for a railroad between Los Angeles and San Pedro was begun by the newspapers in 1861, and eight years later the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad was completed.

In 1873 the Southern Pacific Railroad acquired this pioneer

Southern California railway as a reward for extending its line south to Los Angeles and building a branch to Anaheim. Not only did the Southern Pacific own the railroad to the harbor, it also owned the pier and the lighters which carried cargo to the waiting ships. Freight rates were cheaper than before the advent of the railroad, but it still cost a farmer \$3.00 per ton to ship his wine from the Los Angeles depot to the waiting ship. Grocers were charged \$5.00 per ton to get their merchandise from Wilmington to Los Angeles; lumber dealers added \$7.00 to the price of every thousand feet of Oregon lumber to pay the freight from Wilmington.²

This monopoly was threatened briefly in December, 1875, when the Los Angeles and Independence Railroad completed a line from Los Angeles to a deep-water pier at Santa Monica. But the Southern Pacific was quick to meet the challenge, and freight rates between Los Angeles and San Pedro were cut as much as eighty percent. This competition, coupled with the depression which had just reached Southern California, proved too much for the Los Angeles and Independence Railroad.

In 1877 Senator John P. Jones gave up the fight and sold his railroad to the Southern Pacific for an estimated \$195,000. The Southern Pacific had purchased what Colton called "a bad egg at best," but the Big Four once more controlled the port facilities of Los Angeles.

The fine wharf at Santa Monica, which reached deep water without the use of lighters, was declared unsafe by Southern Pacific engineers and was demolished. Once more it was necessary for all shipments to be made through Wilmington, although it is to the credit of the Southern Pacific that it did not take advantage of its monopoly to restore the high freight rates which had existed before 1875.³

For nearly a decade control of Los Angeles' port facilities by the Southern Pacific went unchallenged. Then in 1883 the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad reached Needles and began making plans to build a line to some deep-water port in Southern California. This forced the Southern Pacific to compromise with its enemy; an agree-

The Influence of the Railroads

ment was reached which allowed the Southern Pacific to build a line from Mojave to Needles. The Atlantic and Pacific was permitted to use Southern Pacific tracks into Southern California.⁴

The Atlantic and Pacific had little choice in the matter, since the powerful Southern Pacific lobby had been able to get a provision inserted in the Atlantic and Pacific charter allowing the Southern Pacific Railroad to connect with the Atlantic and Pacific "at such point, near the boundary line of the State of California, as they shall deem most suitable for a railroad line to San Francisco."⁵

An uneasy truce continued until August, 1884, when the Southern Pacific agreed to sell the line between Mojave and Needles to the Santa Fé Railroad, successor of the Atlantic and Pacific. President Strong of the Santa Fé was able to persuade the Southern Pacific to sell by threatening to parallel the Southern Pacific line to San Francisco. At this time the Santa Fé was in no financial condition to engage the Big Four in a struggle to the death, but the Southern Pacific was not certain of this and decided not to call the Santa Fé's bluff.⁶

The California Southern Railroad, a subsidiary of the Santa Fé which had been built between San Diego and San Bernardino in 1883, was quickly pushed through Cajon Pass to Barstow on the Mojave - Needles line. At last the Santa Fé could run trains over its own rails to salt water, and the first passenger train from the East reached San Diego the middle of November, 1885.⁷

San Diego had a wonderful harbor, but it was more than a hundred miles south of the center of population and never gave Wilmington any real competition. The Santa Fé was quick to realize this, and soon after the line was opened to San Diego, plans were made to build a railway through Los Angeles to some nearby seaport.

Toward the end of May, 1887, an extension was completed from San Bernardino to Duarte, and at the same time purchase of the San Gabriel Valley Railroad was announced. The first Santa Fé train steamed into Los Angeles over its own tracks one month

later, but the Santa Fé Railroad still did not have a seaport capable of competing with the Southern Pacific monopoly at Wilmington.⁸

In the fall of 1886, the Santa Fé had started work on a railway from Los Angeles to Port Ballona, now called Playa del Rey, and this line was opened September 23, 1887. The Santa Fé tried hard to make a port at Ballona by dredging a canal 88 yards long from the ocean to a salt water lagoon called Lake Ballona, but it was a dismal failure.⁹

The following April the Santa Fé tried again by building a branch from Inglewood to Redondo Beach, where a \$100,000 iron pier was being constructed by a real estate promotion company. Redondo Beach was hardly more than an open roadstead which offered little protection from winter storms. Its chief advantage was a submarine canyon which brought deep water close to shore.¹⁰

In the summer of 1890, a second railroad began operating between Los Angeles and Redondo. This was the narrow gauge Redondo Railroad, built by the Redondo Beach Company which was promoting real estate developments at Inglewood and Redondo Beach. By 1891 the Port of Redondo was becoming a threat to Wilmington, and it was not uncommon for over a million board feet of lumber to be unloaded at the Redondo pier during a single week.¹¹

Some writers have overestimated the importance of Redondo as a seaport. Charles D. Willard says that "over sixty per cent of all the water traffic in and out of Los Angeles, if coal and lumber were excluded, was passing by way of Redondo." Certainly Redondo managed to lure considerable shipping away from its rival, but Wilmington continued to handle twice as much freight as Port Redondo. During 1891, for example, 54 million feet of lumber was unloaded at Wilmington and 21 million at Redondo. Ships loading or unloading were in about the same ratio: in 1889 Redondo was visited by 101 ships, while 588 called at Wilmington; in 1890, 211 unloaded at Redondo and 492 at Wilmington; in 1891 there were 255 at Redondo, and 585 at Wilmington.¹²

Competition from San Diego and the new port of Redondo Beach caused the Southern Pacific some concern, but its monopoly

The Influence of the Railroads

was not broken until the completion of the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad in 1891. The Terminal Railroad, which was the result of a merger of several bankrupt railways, ran from Altadena, through Pasadena and Los Angeles to Long Beach, where it turned west along the bay to Rattlesnake Island. Warehouses and a wharf were built on Rattlesnake Island, as Terminal Island was then called, and the new railroad was ready to challenge the supremacy held by the Southern Pacific.¹³

Since 1888 Los Angeles had been fighting to get Congress to vote money for improvement of the harbor at San Pedro. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, which was founded in that year, was one of the leaders in this struggle for a deep-water harbor. One of the Chamber's favorite methods was to fasten upon some unsuspecting senator or representative who happened to be visiting Los Angeles and escort him to San Pedro, accompanied by a group of enthusiastic Angelenos. The Southern Pacific was a strong supporter of harbor improvement, and Senator Leland Stanford usually accompanied these parties to San Pedro.¹⁴

In the fall of 1889, the Senate Committee on Commerce was touring the country, inspecting harbor projects which the committee had under consideration. The committee reached Los Angeles on October 24, and was taken to the harbor in a special train which had been chartered by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. As the party climbed a bluff behind Timm's Point, the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, Senator Frye of Maine, asked "what do you want with a harbor here anyhow? I don't see any ships."

One of the Chamber of Commerce officials explained that at this season of the year conditions were not very favorable for shipping at San Pedro. Senator Frye then grumbled that it would cost \$5,000,000 to improve the harbor, and "you can buy all of California for that." Senator Stanford, president of Southern Pacific Railroad said, "Don't say that to these Los Angeles fellows," and whisked him off for a quick tour of Pasadena and Los Angeles.¹⁵

During the summer of 1890, largely through the efforts of

Senator Stanford, \$5,000 was appropriated for the purpose of surveying possible harbor sites near Los Angeles. The Secretary of War was authorized to appoint three army officers "to examine the Pacific Coast between Points Dume and Capistrano, with a view to determining the best location for a deep-water harbor."¹⁶

In December, 1891, the Mendell Board submitted its report. All of the possible harbors near Los Angeles were quickly dismissed except for Santa Monica and San Pedro, which were examined in detail. There would not be a great deal of difference between the cost of the two harbors — \$5,700,000 for Santa Monica and \$4,600,000 for San Pedro. The report recommended that the harbor be constructed at San Pedro because it would afford "better protection both from prevailing winds and from dangerous storms," and this protection would be "secured at less cost for equal development of a breakwater."¹⁷

Those who had hoped that the Mendell report would settle the location of the Los Angeles harbor once and for all were to be sadly disappointed. Its effect was just the opposite. Colis P. Huntington, who had ousted Stanford as president of the Southern Pacific Railroad in April, 1890, was quick to realize that if the harbor were located at Santa Monica his company would once more enjoy the favorable position that it had held for so many years at San Pedro. Since the report had stated that a harbor could be built at Santa Monica, although at slightly greater cost, Huntington decided to gamble everything on Santa Monica.

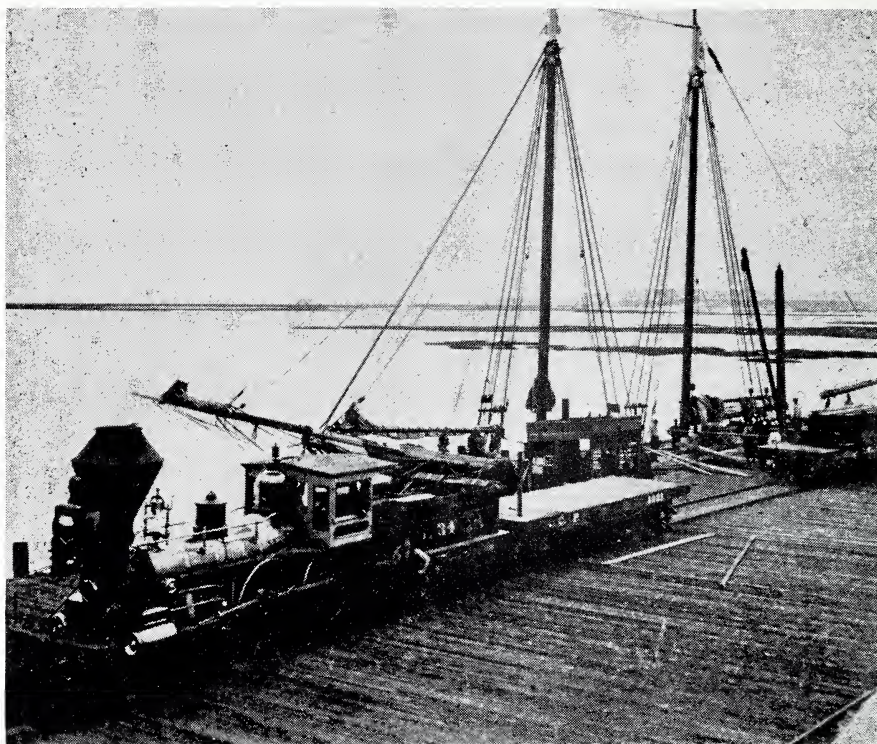
It is uncertain exactly when Huntington decided to abandon San Pedro in favor of Santa Monica, but it was probably soon after the Mendell report was released. The first formal announcement was a telegram which William Hood, chief engineer of the Southern Pacific, sent Senator Frye in February, 1892. Senator Frye's committee was considering an appropriation for San Pedro in accordance with the Mendell report, and this telegram warned that the Southern Pacific had found the floor of San Pedro Harbor to be so rocky that considerable difficulty was encountered in driving piles for the construction of a new wharf. For this reason, the Southern Pacific was abandoning San Pedro and constructing a



— From the Historical Collection of the Southern Pacific

COMMERCIAL STREET STATION, 1868

*Built by the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad, which became the first
Southern Pacific station in Los Angeles*



— From the Historical Collection of the Southern Pacific

WILMINGTON TERMINAL, 1876

Southern Pacific Locomotive No. 34 on the dock at Wilmington

The Influence of the Railroads

new pier at Santa Monica. Hood's telegram was so convincing that the committee quickly threw out the San Pedro appropriation.¹⁸

About two miles north of Santa Monica, the Southern Pacific selected the spot for its pier and named the location Port Los Angeles. The Los Angeles and Independence Railroad was extended to the pier by means of a tunnel and cut through the steep bluff, which faces the ocean at this location. According to the report of the Board of Harbor Commissions, made in 1896, the pier at Port Los Angeles was:

a very thoroughly constructed timber pier, the piles being creosoted and the superstructure carefully designed . . . The tracks of the Southern Pacific railway run to the extreme end of this pier, around which is a well-arranged system of mooring buoys, so that vessels lying at the pier can be breasted off, leaving them free to rise and fall with the swell. The pier is 4,300 feet long and terminates in five and one-half fathoms of water. It is the most carefully designed and thoroughly constructed ocean pier in the California coast.¹⁹

After Hood's famous telegram, Congress held up further appropriations for the harbor until another board could settle the matter "once and for all." This new board consisted of five engineering officers of the army appointed by the Secretary of War. Colonel William P. Craighill was its chairman, and for this reason it is usually called the Craighill Board.²⁰

This board was appointed in July, 1892, convened at San Francisco early in September, and then traveled south to Redondo Beach. Public hearings were held in Los Angeles on September 8 and 9. Several hundred people were present at these hearings, and they were about equally divided among Redondo, Santa Monica and San Pedro. C. M. Wells, president of the Chamber of Commerce, was chairman, but his opening remarks made it plain that the Chamber of Commerce was not taking sides, but was "simply aiding these engineers in collecting their information; and that is what this meeting is for."²¹

Doctor J. P. Widney, founder of the town of Long Beach, was one of the principal speakers for San Pedro. He said that he had visited San Pedro Harbor several times with Stanford and that for

fifteen years Stanford and the Southern Pacific had backed the development of a harbor at that place. Recently the Southern Pacific had changed its position, and Widney urged the board to find out who owned the land in back of the wharf at Port Los Angeles. He did not know for certain who owned this property, but some of his friends had been trying to buy it, and "the man said it was bid in for the Southern Pacific."²²

In October, 1892, the Craighill Board filed a lengthy report with the Secretary of War. Redondo was quickly disposed of with the statement that it would not be advisable for the government to experiment with a floating breakwater, "especially as such a shelter is not needed for the protection of life or property, but merely for the occasional convenience of navigation."

San Pedro and Santa Monica were examined in detail, the board concluding:

that the location selected by the Board of Engineers of 1890, at the present anchorage at the westerly side of San Pedro Bay under Point Fermin, is the "more eligible location for such harbor in depth, width, and capacity to accommodate the largest ocean-going vessels and the commercial and naval necessities of the country."²³

When the report of the Craighill Board was printed in the Los Angeles newspapers, it stopped all controversy for a short time. Most people believed that the findings of the board should be accepted in good faith, and the Chamber of Commerce ended its neutrality and strongly backed San Pedro.²⁴

But the Southern Pacific had no intention of giving up the fight, and work continued on the wharf at Port Los Angeles. When this wharf was finished in January, 1894, much of the business which had previously gone to Redondo was now deflected to Port Los Angeles, which was closer to San Francisco. Business at the new wharf never came up to the great expectations of the Southern Pacific. In September, 1894, the Southern Pacific was still running five trains each day to San Pedro, but only one to Port Los Angeles.²⁵

In June, 1894, the Senate Commerce Committee began holding public hearings on the question of building a breakwater at San

The Influence of the Railroads

Pedro or Santa Monica. Advocates of San Pedro first stated their case; they were followed by C. P. Huntington, who asked for an appropriation of \$4,000,000 for Santa Monica. William Hood, chief engineer of the Southern Pacific Railroad, spoke next; he was followed by E. L. Corthell, "a riparian engineer of national eminence," who stated that there was:

ample width of foreshore above high water under the bluff for several tracks. The owners of this property along the shore were not willing that any one road should have the entire ownership, and therefore they sold only a fifty-foot strip to the Southern Pacific Company. The right-of-way maps and the photographs of the vicinity show plenty of room for several more tracks the entire distance.²⁶

Corthell also claimed that currents at San Pedro were from east to west, and that this would wash large quantities of sand into the harbor, requiring constant dredging. Several supporters of San Pedro refuted this charge, but it still made a most unfavorable impression on the committee.²⁷

When the Senate first began considering the question of harbor appropriations for Los Angeles it was generally believed that an appropriation would be secured for San Pedro without much difficulty. San Pedro had been recommended by an impartial army board; it was also backed by both Senators from California. But as the hearings progressed, the influence of the Southern Pacific lobby became apparent:

Four days ago there was a decided majority in the Commerce Committee in favor of following the wishes of the two Senators from California, but since the arrival of Mr. Huntington at the capital it is now a matter of great doubt where the majority will be found . . . C. P. Huntington was seen going the rounds of the hotels today, and although it was Sunday, he made no halt in buttonholing Senators.²⁸

After Huntington had finished his work, the Commerce Committee was so evenly divided that it was impossible to reach a decision. Finally, a motion was passed deferring action until the committee could "visit the two harbors and form an opinion of their respective merits." This was the so-called "Senatorial Commission"

which never materialized, because no provision was made to pay the expenses of the trip to California.²⁹

In 1896 Congress was controlled by a bloc of economy-minded Republicans, and it seemed impossible to get a large appropriation for San Pedro. For this reason, it was decided temporarily to abandon plans for developing the outer harbor and concentrate upon getting an appropriation for deepening the inner harbor. For only \$400,000 it was believed that the inner basin could be dredged sufficiently to provide fourteen feet of water at low tide. Huntington's representative in Los Angeles was asked to find out what attitude the Southern Pacific would take if the Free Harbor League decided to back such an appropriation. In a few days the League was informed that while "nobody was to be quoted as actually promising anything; it was all unofficial and confidential — but the League might go right ahead; the track was clear."³⁰

Three members of the Free Harbor League were sent to Washington, and they appeared before the River and Harbor Committee of the House on February 17, 1896. They were assured by the committee that favorable action would be taken on their request for dredging the inner harbor. Huntington was present at the hearing, but had no comment to make. Senator White later told newsmen that there was no opposition to the proposal.³¹

Proceedings of the River and Harbor Committee were secret, but toward the end of March dispatches from Washington reported that Huntington had also appeared before the committee and asked \$3,000,000 for Santa Monica. When the committee reported the River and Harbor Bill a few days later, it contained two harbor appropriations: \$392,725 for San Pedro and \$3,098,000 for Santa Monica.³²

This "double appropriation scheme" thoroughly divided the people of Los Angeles. The City Council passed a resolution favoring the double appropriation, and the Republican County Committee favored any appropriations for Los Angeles County, regardless of the area favored. Two mass meetings were held on the night of April 8; those favoring San Pedro met outdoors on the east side of

The Influence of the Railroads

the Court House, while the Santa Monica advocates met in Illinois Hall. The *Herald* reported that "Captain Steere of the Southern Pacific city offices is said to have engaged the hall and paid the charge therefore by check."³³

So much opposition developed to the double appropriation that the River and Harbor Committee withdrew both appropriations and substituted \$50,000 for dredging the inner harbor at San Pedro. This bill was passed by the House and sent on to the Senate, where it was referred to the Committee on Commerce. The Commerce Committee, by a vote of nine to six restored the \$3,000,000 Santa Monica appropriation.³⁴

Senator White of Los Angeles proposed another commission, with the money being appropriated in advance and given to the site recommended by the commission. This "reasonable" demand was rejected by the committee, and Senator White immediately announced that he would do everything possible to defeat the "Huntington steal," and would fight the entire bill if the "appropriation for Santa Monica harbor should be admitted in the face of reports of the army engineers."³⁵

Most California newspapers agreed with the *Los Angeles Times* that the Santa Monica scheme had been "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity." The *San Francisco Examiner* commented sarcastically that:

The list of the nine members of the committee who voted for the Santa Monica steal has the suggestive sound of a burglar alarm . . . There are two or three Senators in that lot whom it might be safe to meet on a dark night with a pocketful of money, but if a marksman wanted to bring down the greatest number of rascals with the smallest supply of rocks he could dispose of his missiles to better advantage in that quarter than anywhere else in the Capital outside of a joint meeting of the Committee on Pacific Railroads.³⁶

The River and Harbor Bill, with the double appropriation still intact, reached the floor of the Senate on May 8. Five days of hot debate followed, with Senators Frye and White taking the most active part. On Friday and Saturday, May 8 and 9, Senator White

spoke at great length on the advantages of San Pedro as a deepwater harbor for Southern California.

Senator Frye replied on Monday with a long speech in which he defended Santa Monica. "There is plenty of room at Santa Monica for twelve tracks, for ten more tracks," he said. "Any other railroad can get it just as easily as the Southern Pacific Company did." He then attempted to fasten the blame on the Santa Fé Railroad. "Telegrams from the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad have been falling here upon Senators in the last ten days as the snowflakes fall in the winter storm."³⁷

The following morning, May 12, Senator White answered Frye's charges, and then proposed an amendment which would appropriate the money in advance, leaving the final choice to another board of engineers. This amendment, as finally approved by the Senate, provided:

For a deep-water harbor of commerce and of refuge at Port Los Angeles in Santa Monica Bay, California, or at San Pedro, in said State, the location of said harbor to be determined by an officer of the navy, an officer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, to be detailed by the Superintendent of said survey, and three experienced civil engineers, skilled in riparian work, to be appointed by the President.³⁸

The bill also provided for an appropriation of \$2,900,000 of which \$50,000 was made immediately available for expenses of the engineering board and other preliminary work. Later, the bill was approved by the House and sent to President Cleveland, who promptly vetoed the entire River and Harbor Bill on the grounds that the treasury did not have sufficient money to meet such tremendous expenditures. Congress promptly passed it over his veto.³⁹

The River and Harbor Bill had been passed in June, but it was not until October that President Cleveland got around to appointing the investigating board. Members of this board were Rear Admiral John G. Walker, Augustus F. Rodgers, William H. Burr, George S. Morrison, and Richard P. Morgan. All of these appointments were received with satisfaction in Southern California except that of Richard P. Morgan. Morgan's son was employed by the Southern

The Influence of the Railroads

Pacific, and it was known that at one time Morgan had "done the Southern Pacific an important service." Senator White made a formal protest to the president, and Cleveland wrote Morgan a letter inviting him to resign. Morgan would not take the hint.⁴⁰

For several days, beginning on December 21, 1896, the Walker Board held public hearings in the offices of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. Several weeks were also spent studying maps, charts and other technical information. Soundings were taken in both harbors, and borings were made all along the proposed breakwaters and at various places in the harbors.⁴¹

The report of the Walker Board was filed March 1, 1897, and as everyone expected it recommended that the harbor be located at San Pedro. Four members of the board signed this report, but Richard Price Morgan wrote a minority report strongly advocating Santa Monica.

After 330 pages of technical information, the majority report concluded:

While the physical advantages of the San Pedro location naturally leads to its selection, the advisability of that choice is materially strengthened by the consideration of the extensive improvements of its interior harbor, already made . . . The preponderance of physical advantages, therefore, which leads to the selection of the San Pedro location is in line with the requirements of the best public policy as to the matter intrusted to the decision of this Board.⁴²

Morgan's minority report cited nine reasons why Santa Monica was superior to San Pedro. In the first place, he claimed that San Pedro had an "arc of exposure" of 156 degrees compared to 104 degrees for Santa Monica; a chart was included to prove this point. In addition, San Pedro was "kelp grown," it would require a breakwater of 8,500 feet compared to only 6,500 for Port Los Angeles, and the Southern Pacific already had a wharf in operation at Santa Monica.⁴³

It was now up to the Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, to advertise for bids and get the work started on the harbor. Alger had visited Los Angeles as a guest of the Southern Pacific before becoming Secretary of War, and at that time he had expressed a preference for a harbor at Santa Monica. He was also known to be a friend of Huntington, having had business dealings with him through lumbering activities in the northwest.

When Alger had been appointed Secretary of War, the people of Los Angeles expected trouble, and they were right. The Walker Board made its report in March, 1897, but work was not started on the harbor until April, 1899. Willard insists that "at least half of this time was deliberately wasted by Secretary Alger, in the desperate hope of throwing the issue back to Congress."⁴⁴

Congress was in extra session during the spring of 1897, struggling with the Dingley Tariff, and a meeting of the California delegation was called to consider what action should be taken. It was decided to have Senator White introduce a resolution asking the Secretary of War to inform the Senate "what action, if any, has been taken or is contemplated with reference to the making of contracts for the completion of . . . a deep-water harbor" at San Pedro.⁴⁵

Ten days later, the Senate received a letter from Secretary Alger stating that the bill called for a harbor of "commerce and refuge," which he interpreted to mean development of both the inner and outer harbors, but that there was not enough money available to do this. He also said that it would be necessary to dredge the inner harbor to a depth of thirty feet instead of twenty-one feet as estimated by the investigating board. Finally, there were a number of sunken rocks near the harbor entrance which had been overlooked by the Walker Board.⁴⁶

The Influence of the Railroads

The hope of the Southern Pacific, as expressed by the *New York World*, was that Congress would "repeal the appropriation and reconsider the plan of spending untold millions in making a harbor where there is none." But Congress was in no mood to start another endless argument, and quickly passed Senator White's resolution calling upon the Secretary of War to advertise for bids without delay.⁴⁷

After the Senate had passed this resolution, Alger referred the matter to Attorney-General McKenna for his opinion. The Attorney-General quickly replied that in his opinion there was no legal reason why the Secretary of War should not advertise for bids. Alger then made the excuse that there was no money available to pay for the advertising. The Los Angeles newspapers offered to carry the advertising free, but Alger replied that it would not be dignified for the War Department to accept charity, and that he was referring the whole problem to the Judge Advocate General.

Part of the \$50,000 which had been appropriated to meet the expenses of the investigating board had not been spent, and the Judge Advocate General ruled that this could be used to pay for advertising. But before bids could be advertised, Attorney-General McKenna was elevated to the Supreme Court, and Alger proposed that the matter be submitted to the new Attorney-General, John W. Griggs.⁴⁸

President McKinley began to receive hundreds of letters which complained that Alger was stalling on the San Pedro break-water, and he finally issued an order directing the Secretary of War to advertise for bids immediately. Alger was obliged to comply with this order, and on February 10, 1898, the sealed bids were opened in the office of the U. S. Corps of Engineers in San Francisco. War Department engineers had to pass on the bids, which was done two

weeks later, but it was not until July that Alger found time to approve the bids and order a contract.⁴⁹

Work was not actually begun on the breakwater until the following spring, an event which the citizens of Los Angeles celebrated with a Harbor Jubilee on April 26 and 27, 1899. There were ceremonies and speeches in San Pedro, followed by a barbecue, parade, and fireworks in Los Angeles. Climaxing the festivities, President McKinley pressed a gold telegraph key as a signal to dump the first barge-load of rock from Catalina Island. Los Angeles was at last to have a deep-water harbor — a dream of fifty years was about to be realized.⁵⁰

NOTES

1. Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York, 1936), 98, 100.
2. Los Angeles *Southern News*, January 30, 1861; Los Angeles *Star*, July 3, 1870, July 1, 1872, September, 1872 to May, 1873, *passim*.
3. Franklyn Hoyt, *The Los Angeles and Independence Railroad*, Historical Society of Southern California, *Quarterly*, XXXII (December, 1950), 293-308.
4. Lewis B. Lesley, *The Entrance of the Santa Fé Railroad into California*, *Pacific Historical Review*, VIII (March, 1939), 92-93.
5. *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, XVI (1865-1867), 299.
6. Lesley, *op. Cit.*, 94.
7. Glenn Danford Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fé* (Boston, 1920), 238; James Marshall, *Santa Fé; The Railroad that Built an Empire* (New York, 1945), 188.
8. Franklyn Hoyt, *The Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad*, *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (August, 1951), 227-239.
9. Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, 1944), 64-65; Los Angeles *Times*, January 14, 1887; Los Angeles *Tribune*, July 5, 1887.
10. Dumke, *op. cit.*, 69; Marshall, *op. cit.*, 412; Los Angeles *Cactus*, April 14, 1888.
11. Glenn S. Dumke, *Early Interurban Transportation in the Los Angeles Area*, Historical Society of Southern California, *Quarterly*, XXII (December, 1940), 131-149; Los Angeles *Express*, June 28, 1889, December 31, 1891, January 29 and February 12, 1892.
12. Charles Dwight Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest at Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1899), 64; United States War Department, *Deep-water Harbor at San Pedro Bay* (Washington, 1892), 78-82.
13. Los Angeles *Express*, October 3, December 31, 1891; Charles Dwight Willard, *The Herald's History of Los Angeles City* (Los Angeles, 1901), 65-66, 301; California Railroad Commission *Report, 1892*, pp. 330-336.

The Influence of the Railroads

14. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 46-47.
15. Los Angeles *Express*, October 26, 1889. Senator Frye was always a bitter opponent of the San Pedro harbor. When the Southern Pacific reversed its field and began promoting Santa Monica, Frye advocated this harbor in preference to San Pedro.
16. *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, XXVI (1889-1891), 434.
17. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 56-57.
18. *Ibid.*, 61, 73-74.
19. United States, War Department, *Deep-Water Harbor at Port Los Angeles or at San Pedro, Cal.* (Washington, 1897), 6.
20. *Copy of the Report of the Board of U. S. Engineers of 1892 . . . Locating the Deep-Water Harbor for Los Angeles at San Pedro* (Los Angeles, 1894), 2.
21. United States, War Department, *Deep-Water Harbor at San Pedro Bay* (Washington, 1892), 29.
22. *Ibid.*, 68.
23. *Ibid.*, 15, 23.
24. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 97-98.
25. Los Angeles *Times*, September 2, 1894.
26. *Santa Monica; A Protected Harbor* (Santa Monica, 1892), 13.
27. Two years later the Walker Board investigated this charge very carefully, and it was proven to be false. Stovall, who lived in Long Beach, testified that coal from wrecked colliers always drifted toward Long Beach, and that at one time he easily filled a small wagon with coal which he picked up along the beach. *Deep Water Harbor in Southern California; Port Los Angeles vs. San Pedro; Full Report of Oral Testimony at Public Hearings in Los Angeles*, December, 1896 (Los Angeles, 1897), 135.
28. St. Louis *Globe Democrat*, June 26, 1894, as cited in Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 121.
29. *Ibid.*, 121-122.
30. *Ibid.*, 132.
31. Los Angeles *Times*, February 16-19, 1896.
32. Los Angeles *Times*, March 27, 1896; Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 148-149.
33. Los Angeles *Herald*, April 8, 1896; Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 148-149.
34. *Congressional Record*, April 6, 1896, pp. 3631, 3641; U. S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, *Deep-Water Harbor in Southern California* (Washington, 1896), 1-95, *passim*.
35. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 151-152; Los Angeles *Herald*, April 25, 1896.
36. Los Angeles *Times*, May 5, 1896; San Francisco *Examiner*, n. d., as cited in the *Congressional Record*, May 12, 1896, p. 5107.
37. *Congressional Record*, May 8-12, 1896, pp. 5044-5058, 5094-5114.
38. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1896, p. 5114. This amendment may also be found in Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 207-208.
39. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1896, p. 5918; June 2, 1896, pp. 6008-6012; June 3, 1896, p. 6045.
40. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 170-171.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

41. The complete transcript of all testimony at the public hearings held in Los Angeles may be found in *Deep-Water Harbor in Southern California; Port Los Angeles vs. San Pedro; Full Report of Oral Testimony at Public Hearings in Los Angeles*, December, 1896 (Los Angeles, 1897).
42. U. S. War Department, *Deep-Water Harbor at Port Los Angeles or at San Pedro, Cal.*, 23-24.
43. *Ibid.*, 25-29.
44. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 181.
45. *Congressional Record*, May 10, 1897, p. 946.
46. *Los Angeles Express*, May 20, 1897.
47. *New York World*, May 21, 1897, as cited in the *Los Angeles Express*, May 28, 1897; Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 182-183.
48. Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*, 185-186.
49. *Ibid.*, 186, 190; *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 1898.
50. *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 28, 1889.



The Smallest Post Office . . .

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

San Diego County boasts the smallest post office building in the United States. It was established in 1882, some twenty miles up the Santa Margarita Valley from Oceanside and about fifteen miles from Fallbrook. J. H. Camp, a local minister, was its first postmaster. It is housed in a separate building eight feet square. The front has eighteen padlocked pidgeonholes which serve as subscriber's mail boxes.

— San Diego Tribune, October 2, 1936. From article titled, *Briton Gives Name to Beauty Spot*, by John Davidson of the *Junipera Serra Historical Museum*, San Diego.

Bancroft's Lost Letter

By Edward A. Dickson



OUT OF A FORGOTTEN FILE, I recently recovered a hitherto unpublished letter of California's famous historian — Hubert Howe Bancroft.

It is a six-page letter of pungent sentences, written in longhand thirty-seven years ago, and deals with a subject of unique interest — Bancroft's analysis of the outstanding Californians, who at that time were being considered as worthy to represent the state in the Nation's Hall of Fame at Washington.

It will be generally conceded that Historian Bancroft was preeminently fitted to judge the merits of the men who, over a span of a century, had helped to mold the destiny of the State. No one was better able to evaluate the contributions made by the builders of California. His views, therefore still have a lively interest and significance.

As a background for the Bancroft letter, we will go back to the year 1916. I had recently visited Washington, where I noted that California was without representation in the Capitol's Statuary Hall — the national hall of fame. Each State in the Union, it will be recalled, is entitled to have statues of two of its notables placed in the Hall of Fame. Up to that time, however, California had not availed herself of that privilege.

On my return, I proposed to an historical group that they initiate steps to have two of California's sons added to the list of famous men. Some fourteen names were discussed by the historians as being worthy of this high honor. I finally proposed that a letter be written to Mr. Bancroft because of his preeminence, inviting him to express his views on the subject. One of the members, the late

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Miss Ella Buchanan — nationally famous sculptress — said that she knew Mr. Bancroft and would write him. This is her letter:

Los Angeles, California
May 31, 1916

Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft,
San Francisco, California.

My Dear Sir:

I have been requested to write and ask for an expression of your views as to the most suitable selection of a noted Californian for honoring with a statue in the Hall of Fame in Washington D. C.

In a recent discussion the names of Thomas Starr King, John A. Sutter, John C. Fremont, Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, Joseph Le Conte, were talked over as subject for such distinction.

Being one who is most familiar with California history we realize your views in this would be of great help and we will be most grateful for an expression from you.

Very truly yours,
ELLA BUCHANAN

Miss Buchanan's letter it will be noted, was dated May 31, 1916. Mr. Bancroft's reply was written almost immediately — on June 10th. His opening paragraph is pithy and characteristic:

San Francisco, California
June 10, 1916

My dear Miss Buchanan:

I could better answer your valued letter of the 31st ult. if I knew along what lines you would measure your men, they are so variant. Is simple achievement sufficient, or must there be present some modicum of moral qualities, something of manhood and integrity? If the former, I could unroll them off to you by the score; if one truly worthy of the honor proposed must be found, the use of a candle would be required.

Mr. Bancroft then proceeds to subject to a searching and a

Bancroft's Lost Letter

not too-flattering appraisal a few Californians who from time to time have been hailed as among the State's eminent heroes.

With biting sarcasm, he disposes of the poet Bret Harte, and then eliminates the discoverer of California's gold, James Marshall, as quite unworthy of serious consideration. He writes:

If a caricaturist of California miners stands for the highest quality of human endeavor, then Bret Harte surely fills the bill.

If simply to be an early settler is sufficient, then passing the more important Vallejo, John A. Sutter will do as well as March or Livermore, and better than Marshall, an uncouth renegade Mormon, who happened to pick up some pieces of yellow stuff in the tail-race of a Sierra saw-mill, and show them to his employer.

Next follows a blast at John C. Frémont, and what he says about Frémont is certainly at variance with the views of many thoughtful Californians who continue to hold the explorer in high esteem.

The fact that Frémont blazed the trail to California; that he was California's first United States Senator and that he was popular enough nationally in 1856 to be chosen as the Republican Party's candidate for President apparently did not greatly impress Bancroft. Here is his stinging indictment of "the pathfinder":

. . . Popular ignorance or indifference persists in placing his name on school-houses and elsewhere as a model for the rising generation. He was court-martialed on his return from California and saved from further disgrace only by the interposition of his father-in-law (Senator Benton of Missouri). He was in no sense a Californian, was not even a pathfinder as he was called, having always at hand Kit Carson or Bill Williams to show him the way.

Joaquin Miller — the poet of the Sierras — is contemptuously spurned, and the world-distinguished scientist and scholar, Professor Joseph Le Conte, of the University of California faculty, is checked off as "a good enough man in his limited way." Writes Bancroft:

Thomas Starr King was a good man and helped to keep California loyal when the civil war broke out, which was seemingly of more consequence than playing the buffoon and grinding out verses a la Joaquin Miller, fit only to be sung in a saw-mill.

Would you like a first class merchant, or a genuine martyr? For the former there is William T. Coleman, chief of ten thousand good citizens in the great popular tribunal of 1856; for the latter, James King of Wm. who gave his life for the purification of the City — and it was purified.

If you want a college man, why not take the founder of the University, (Henry Durant) rather than one of its fifty professors, though Le Conte was a good man in his limited way.

Justices Terry and Murray of the State Supreme Court find little favor with Bancroft. It was Terry who had killed Senator Broderick in a duel, as a result of a bitter feud provoked by the national controversy over slavery. Says Bancroft:

Terry J. and Murray J. of the State Supreme Court were able men whether on the street or on the bench, the former possessing great courage, killing Broderick as coolly as he would shoot a pig, a faithful friend of fire-eaters and desperadoes.

Portions of Bancroft's letter are sharply barbed. For instance he mentions one noted Californian as possibly entitled to consideration — "if you wouldn't mind a little defalcation and suicide." Referring to Collis P. Huntington, celebrated railroad tycoon, Bancroft concedes him to have been "an able man, and accomplished a great work." "But," comments Bancroft, "he was a foul fish."

Bancroft finally sets up his own standard for measuring real merit — "the accomplishing of the most of that which is best."

Weighed by that high standard, Bancroft suggests the name of the then Governor of California, Hiram W. Johnson, as the Californian most worthy to be forever enshrined in the Nation's Hall of Fame — were it not for the fact that the dynamic Governor was at that time still very much alive. He not being available, Bancroft proposes Lieutenant - Governor John M. Eshleman as most entitled to be honored.

Eshleman was Lieutenant - Governor of California in 1916, the year of his untimely death. Had he lived, he would have become Governor of California following the election of Governor Johnson to the United States Senate in November of that year. Possessed of a

927 Grandview
Los Angeles - Calif -

Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft - May - 31st - 1916
San Francisco - Calif -

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Ella Buchanan

THE BUCHANAN LETTER

Letter to Bancroft requesting his views on Californians worthy of being honored by a statue in the National Hall of Fame in Washington, D. C.

San Francisco June 10, 1916

my dear Mrs Buchanan
I could better answer your valued
letter of 31st ult. if I knew along
what lines you would ~~measure~~ ^{measure}
~~your~~ your man, they are so variant.
So simple achievement sufficient,
or must there be present some modicum
of moral qualities, something of
manhood and integrity? If the
former I could unroll them
off for you by the score; if one
truly worthy of the honor proposed
must be found, the use of a
council would be required.
If a variant

If a caricaturist of California
miners stands for the highest
quality of human endeavor
then Bret Harte surely fills
the bill. If simply to be an
early settler is sufficient, then,
passing the more important
Vallejo, John A. Sutter will do
as well as Marsh or Livermore,
and better than Marshall,
^{and} ^{with} ^{himself} ^{and} ^{his} ^{own} ^{people}
hippyed to pick up some pieces
of yellow stuff in the tail-race
of a Sierra saw-mill, and show
them to his employer.

6
For myself I should
say that the greatest man,
the one entitled to honor,
is he who has accomplished
the most of that which is best.
So measured it comes home
to me - that far and away
above all Californians, from
first to last, as a true patriot
as a man of ability and integ-
rity, as one who has achieved
the most, and of that which
is most important is Hiram
W. Henshaw, ~~our present gov-~~
~~ernor~~. He being not
yet available, I am happy
to say, I should name
the late lieutenant gov-
~~ernor~~ error, E. S. Latham
as of all others the Californian
most entitled to honor. His
^{rare} ~~genius~~ genius, his high
public and private character,
great work which he
accomplished during his short
but fruitful career, you of
the South know and appre-
ciate without any words from
me very sincerely,
Hubert H. Bancroft

THE LAST PAGE

of Bancroft's contentious letter, showing his signature



HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

(1832 - 1918)

Bancroft's *History of California* has been the primary source of material for historians who have followed him. He was a tireless collector of manuscripts, and the famous Bancroft Library is a treasure-house of pioneer diaries, letters and maps — of infinite value to students of research.

If at some time, other names are to be added to our National Roll of Honor, there are many who feel that Bancroft himself should be immortalized because of his priceless contribution in preserving for posterity the precious historical records that, woven together, form the story of California.



JOHN CHARLES FREMONT

(1813 - 1890)

Fremont, first United States Senator from California, was bitterly assailed by Bancroft in this letter. In 1856, Fremont was the candidate of the Republican Party for President. He had many supporters for the honor of being one of California's representatives in the Nation's Hall of Fame.

Bancroft's Lost Letter

brilliant mind, Eshleman was frequently called upon by Governor Johnson and the Lincoln - Roosevelt League leaders to prepare the legislation that gave to California the reputation of having the most humanitarian and progressive laws of any State in the Union. It is probably not too much to say that Eshleman personally wrote more salutary laws during that reconstruction period than any other man in the United States.

Bancroft saw in Eshleman a valiant crusader in the memorable movement, lead by the Lincoln - Roosevelt League, that had swept the state in 1910, and that had restored political independence to the people of California. As a member of the Legislature and in his capacity as Lieutenant - Governor, Eshleman had demonstrated the courage and the idealism of a truly great statesman. Writes Bancroft:

Hiram Johnson . . . being not yet available . . . I should name the late lieutenant-governor, Eshleman, as of all others the Californian most entitled to honor. His rare genius, his high character, public and private, the great work which he accomplished during his short but fruitful career, you of the South know and appreciate without any words from me.

* * * * *

With very human but characteristic foresight in the importance of preserving letters that might become of historic interest. Bancroft had written on a separate sheet:

I wish you would have your letter (I return it for that purpose) and my answer printed in some first-class Journal; so many people's ideas are so far astray in this matter.

And kindly send me copies of the paper.

* * * * *

The contest to determine public sentiment with respect to California's most notable representatives was not determined for several years. In the meantime, Sculptress Buchanan retained the Bancroft letter and, in 1919, presented it to me for publication in my newspaper, the Los Angeles *Evening Express*. Somehow the letter was misplaced, and in spite of our exhaustive search it could not be located. Bancroft's remarkable letter, therefore, never has been pub-

lished. Just recently it came to light in my own private files, where it had been misplaced.

In 1926 the California Federation of Women's Clubs undertook to crystalize public sentiment on the subject of California's representatives for Statuary Hall in the National Capitol. A poll was taken of leading clubs and organizations throughout the state, with the result that the names of Juan Rodriquez Cabrillo and John C. Frémont were agreed upon as worthy of the honor of representing California.

A formal resolution nominating Cabrillo and Frémont was submitted to the various member organizations, and their names were eventually endorsed by more than fifty of the clubs. Among the groups that endorsed them were the *Ebell Club* of Los Angeles, the *Friday Morning Club* of Los Angeles, the *Daughters of the American Revolution*, California's *History and Landmarks Association* and the Grand Parlor of the *Native Daughters of the Golden West*. With that list of sponsors the resolution was submitted to the California Legislature.

There developed among the legislators a sharp difference of opinion over the definition of the word "citizen," as used in the Morrill Act, adopted by Congress in 1864, by which the old Hall of Representatives was set apart as a National Statuary Hall. The Act read:

The President is hereby authorized to invite each and all of the states to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number, for each state, of deceased persons who have been *citizens* thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or from distinguished civic or military service, such as each state shall determine to be worthy of this national commemoration.

Did "citizen" of a state mean that a person must be a native of the state? If so, neither King, nor Serra, nor Frémont, nor Cabrillo could qualify.

It was found, however, that Webster includes in his definition of citizen — "one who is domiciled in a country, and who, though neither native or naturalized, takes legal status from such country."

Bancroft's Lost Letter

Rhode Island, it was pointed out by the advocates of Cabrillo and Frémont, was the first state to respond, choosing as one of their illustrious men, Roger Williams.

Though born in England, Williams was, according to Webster, a citizen of Rhode Island — and he had been accepted by Congress.

In support of their nominees the Federation of Women's Clubs issued the following statement:

Surely, California can send a statue of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese, who discovered California and who lies buried in an unidentified grave in the soil of California, if we so desire, and with respect to Fremont, his family resided in San Francisco at the time of his election as United States Senator. On the occasion of his death, his legal home was in Los Angeles, where his wife and daughter continued to live until death.

In June of 1926, I received the following letter from the Federation of Women's Clubs, urging my newspaper's support of their two chosen representatives:

CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Los Angeles, California

June 28, 1926

Mr. Edward A. Dickson,
Publisher, The Evening Express
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Dickson:

I enclose a copy of the resolution that has been approved by fifty-three clubs and organizations, having for its object to secure for California two representatives in Statuary Hall at Washington, D. C.

Inasmuch as several years ago the *Express* took cognizance of the fact that California had long neglected its opportunity of placing our state and its history before the public, I am glad to bring to your attention what the women have done in the way of securing Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and John Charles Fremont as our representatives.

We are desirous of having the cooperation of the Editorial Association, and ask your personal interest and influence in securing this much desired support.

In the October Conference of the California History and Landmarks

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

division of Los Angeles District of the Women's Federated Clubs the subject of placing two statues in Washington was brought before the conference as desirable work for the benefit of California. Names were discussed and the matter postponed for further investigation, and especially that the clubs might be informed of the project before any action was taken. After several months delay and inquiry the matter was brought again before the Conference and the names of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and John Charles Fremont were unanimously chosen, with 47 members present. Resolutions were drawn up and sent to the clubs of the members voting and it is these and other organizations that have adopted and signed the resolutions — a list is herewith appended.

Trusting that we may have your hearty cooperation and influence, I am,

Very sincerely yours
(Mrs.) A. S. C. Forbes
Chairman of Division.

Other civic and patriotic groups now became vitally concerned and petitions, proposing Junipero Serra and Thomas Starr King, were formally presented to the State Legislature when it assembled in 1927.

Public hearings were held, and great interest in the forthcoming decision was manifest throughout the state. A bill was finally introduced (Senate Bill Number 652) designating Junipero Serra and Thomas Starr King for the honor of representing California. Governor Young, on May 20, 1927, signed the measure — which terminated the protracted controversy.

Funds were then appropriated by the Legislature for two bronze statues which eventually were placed, with fitting ceremony, in the rotunda — Statuary Hall — of the National Capitol.

The statue of Junipero Serra was executed by Fittore Cadorin, noted Santa Barbara sculptor. Haig Patigian, an equally noted San Francisco sculptor, executed the statue of Thomas Starr King.



The Family of Pico

By Helen Tyler

*I*t was exciting news when Viceroy Bucareli, Governor of New Spain, learned of the discovery of San Francisco Bay¹. He decided on a plan to establish a presidial colony and two missions on this site and send thirty soldiers and their families from Mexico to colonize and hold the proposed northern stronghold.

Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry and Captain of the Royal Presidio of Tubac, had just returned from the first overland round trip from Sonora to San Gabriel Mission in 1774, opening a land route to the sea in New California, and he was therefore deemed the logical man to head the proposed expedition. Given this assignment, Anza and Lieutenant Joseph Joaquin Moraga, with eight veteran soldiers, began recruiting from Culiacan to Sinaloa, enlisting twenty soldiers with families as colonists. The company assembled at San Miguel de Horcasitas and left there September 29, 1775, for Tubac and the final rendezvous before departing this last outpost of civilization. A trek of some 1,400 miles lay ahead, much of it through hostile Indian country.

According to the dairy of Father Font who chronicled the trip², the personnel of the band that left Tubac on October 23rd, consisted of Lieutenant Anza, Father Font, two Catholic Fathers and four servants destined to remain at the Colorado, the commissary, *Don* Mariano Vidal, Lieutenant Moraga, Lieutenant Grijalva, eight veteran soldiers from Sonora, twenty soldier recruits, ten veteran soldiers from Tubac, twenty-nine wives, one hundred thirty-six children, twenty muleteers, three *vaqueros* and three Indian interpreters, making a grand total of two hundred forty persons, of whom two-hundred seven were to remain in California.

Before reaching their destination, three infants were born and one woman, wife of Vincente Felix, died on the road.

Santiago de la Cruz Pico, founder of the Pico family in California, joined the expedition bound for California at San Miguel de Horcasitas. He in the capacity of a soldier recruit and his wife and children as future settlers of the proposed colony of San Francisco.³ Pico was born in Horcasitas in 1733. His marriage to Maria Jacinta Vastida was blessed with seven children, all born in San Javier de Cabazan, Sonora.

Among the colonists were Feliciana Arballo de Gutierrez, widow of José Gutierrez, and her two small daughters. She is mentioned by Father Font in his dairy (although not by name, nevertheless she was the only widow in the group) as being a gay widow who flirted and sang rather ribald songs. The good Father was shocked at a *fandango* held the night of December 17, while camping at the Rancheria de San Sebastian:⁴

At night, with the joy at the arrival of all the people, they held a fandango here. It was somewhat discordant, and a very bold widow who came with the expedition sang some verses which were not at all nice, applauded and cheered by all the crowd. For this reason the man to whom she came attached became angry and punished her.

The journey was long and tedious across the desert wastes and December was bitter in the Sierra Nevadas, but the hardships were forgotten in rejoicing at the delays.

Each person soon knew all others by name and the children of the emigrants became fast friends. Young José Maria Pico, aged eleven, knew and played with the baby Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez, aged four. Fate had ordained that the union of these two young pioneers would, in later life, carry the name of Pico onto the pages of every 19th century history of California before the conquest, ever to be written.

The first contact with civilization in three weary months came at 11:00 o'clock in the morning of January 4, 1776, when Anza and his expedition entered San Gabriel Mission, to be met by Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, the military commander of Monterey. From this moment forward the little band faced six months of stirring events and disappointing delays.

The Family of Pico

Rivera, who had arrived from the north the night of the second, explained his presence with news of an Indian uprising that had occurred at San Diego Mission at midnight, November 5, 1775. Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega and part of the San Diego guard were seventy-five miles to the north at this time, attending to the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano. Knowing this, the Indians had planned two attacks to occur simultaneously, one at the mission and one at the *presidio*, distant about a league.⁵ Somehow the timing went amiss and the mission was a burning inferno before the *presidio* could be reached, so the two bands of hostiles joined forces and concentrated on the mission. Father Luis Jaume, so rudely awakened, rushed out only to be murdered and mutilated beyond recognition. The mission blacksmith and the carpenter were killed and two soldiers wounded. Although these events had happened two months previously, there were 470 miles between San Diego and Monterey, and news traveled slowly in the days before roads were established. Rivera enlisted Anza's aid in subduing the Indians of the south, declaring there were seventy-one men in all of California under arms, including himself. After some deliberation Anza agreed to interrupt his march to Monterey long enough to assist him at San Diego. Rivera had but ten men with him to which Anza added seventeen, and with Father Font accompanying them, the force of twenty-nine soldiers set out for San Diego on January 7, reaching there January 11. The other members of the expedition remained at San Gabriel Mission, resting from the long journey until the return of Anza and his men on February 12.

The band was once more intact but another delay was caused by the desertion of five men; one soldier of the mission guard, a servant and three muleteers of the expedition.⁶ The deserters had absconded with twenty-five or thirty horses and mules, a saddle, two muskets and valuable goods such as glass beads, chocolate and tobacco. Anza sent Lieutenant Moraga and seven men to capture and return both deserters and goods and awaited their return for more than a week.

San Gabriel Mission was at this time but five years old and

very rude compared to the flourishing establishment it later became. Father Font describes it:

"At present the buildings consist of a very long shed, all of one room with three divisions, which serves as a habitation for the fathers and for a granary and everything. Somewhat apart from this building there is a rectangular shed which serves as a church, and near this another which is the guardhouse, as they call it, or the quarters of the soldiers, eight in number, who serve the mission as guard; and finally, some little huts of tule which are the houses of the Indians, between which and the house of the fathers the *acequia* runs."

Thus it will be seen this establishment could ill afford the strain on its meagre supplies in feeding and maintaining so large a number of visitors.

While tarrying at the mission, Senora Gutierrez had fallen in love with a soldier of the mission guard and when the expedition resumed its long delayed march to Monterey, she elected to remain there with her two small daughters, bidding *adios* to her erstwhile traveling companions. The records show that on March 6, 1776, Feliciana Arballo de Gutierrez was married to Juan Francisco Lopez, soldier of the guard, Mission San Gabriel Archangel. By her second marriage she subsequently had six or more children.

Anza, realizing that all were becoming restless and eager to reach the last outpost at Monterey, decided not to await Moraga's return longer, but to push on. The march began on February 21, minus Lieutenant Grijalva and twelve families delegated to remain at the mission until further orders were received.

The expedition reached the Royal Presidio of Monterey, damp and bedraggled from the pouring rain, on Sunday, March 10, 1776, at 4:30 P. M., 162 days from Horcasitas and 316½ leagues from Tubac.⁸ But let Father Font picture the event:⁹

"When we arrived at the *presidio* everybody was overjoyed, in spite of the fact we were so wet, for we did not have a dry garment. We were welcomed by three volleys of the artillery, consisting of some small cannons that are there, and the firing of muskets by the soldiers."

A messenger was dispatched to Mission San Carlos del Carmelo to apprise Father Junipero Serra, President of the Missions of *Alta* California, of their safe arrival. The following morning Father Serra accompanied by Fathers Francisco Palou, Joseph Murguia,

The Family of Pico

Pedro Cambo and Tomas Pena, came to bid welcome to the strangers and sing a mass of thanksgiving, after which Father Font delivered an address to the assemblage.

Monterey at this time was less than six years old and Father Font saw it thus:¹⁰

Its buildings form a square, on one side of which is the house of the commander and the storehouse in which the storekeeper lives. On the opposite side are a little chapel and the quarters or barracks of the soldiers, and on the other two sides there are some huts or small houses of the families and people who live there. All are built of logs and mud, with some *adobe*; and the square or *plaza* of the *presidio*, which is not large, but is enclosed by a stockade or wall of logs. It is all a very small affair, and for lack of houses the people live in great discomfort. Nor is this for lack of effort directed to the purpose. The commander, indeed, had to lodge in the storehouse, and I in a dirty little room full of lime, while the rest of the people accommodated themselves in the *plaza* with their tents as best they could.

On Saturday, March 23, Anza, Father Font and Lieutenant Moraga with twenty men in all, set forth from Monterey to explore San Francisco Bay and select the sites for mission and *presidio*, returning on Monday, April 8. Having fulfilled all the duties assigned to him, namely to conduct the colonists safely to Monterey and select the proposed northern sites, Anza began his return journey to Mexico on Sunday, April 14, accompanied by twenty-nine men.

By May 8, Rivera at San Diego sent a message to Lieutenant Grijalva at San Gabriel with instructions to escort the remaining twelve families up to Monterey to rejoin their comrades.¹¹

After many set-backs and delays, the original purpose of the colony took shape as Moraga assumed the leadership inherited from the departed Anza, and led the company of soldier-settlers and their families, servants and two priests, north to the bay of San Francisco. Father Palou recorded the story and listed the founders as:¹²

Lieutenant Don Jose Joaquin Moraga, a sergeant, two corporals, and ten soldiers, all with their wives and families except the commander, who had left his in Sonora. In addition there were seven families of settlers . . . five servant boys, muleteers and *Vaqueros*, who conducted

about two-hundred of the king's cattle and some belonging to individuals, and the mule train which carried the provisions and utensils necessary for the road.

All the other belongings of the settlers and the tools and accouterments necessary to a band in the wilderness, that had been brought by pack train from Horcasitas and Tubac, were left at Monterey to be shipped north later on the packet boat *San Carlos*.

An encampment of field tents and temporary shelters was erected June 17, on the *Laguna de los Dolores*, later sight of Mission Dolores. A month passed in exploring the peninsula for a suitable *presidio* site and the soldiers were kept busy cutting timber for the proposed buildings. When the site was selected the colony moved there July 26, to prepare tule huts that would serve the families until their permanent homes were erected. The two missionaries, Palou and Cambon, three servants, a guard of six soldiers and one settler, with their seven families, were left at the mission site to prepare its future permanent structures.

The *San Carlos* under command of Captain Don Fernando Quirós, reached the *presido* site August 18, forty-two days from Monterey. Its delay due to storms and weather conditions, had caused Lieutenant Moraga to send a pack train to Monterey for supplies three different times. Work now began in earnest and the formal dedication of the *Presidio* of San Francisco occurred on September 17, 1776, twelve days less than a year from the departure at San Miguel de Horcasitas. Mission Dolores was formally blessed October 8, 1776.

Although the Pico family had come to California ostensibly to be founder-settlers of San Francisco, they remained there less than a year. Santiago Pico was transferred to the San Diego company in 1777 and his family accompanied him south to their second home in the state. Their new "home" consisted of quarters in the *presidio* atop the hill where all the families of the guard were quartered.

The San Diego *presidio* was the birthplace of all future establishments in California.¹⁴ Father Serra said that the friars' huts were of *adobe* and with stones collected and 4,000 *adobes* made, the foundation of a church 90 feet long was laid, but work was suspended in 1773. There was a palisade work on the hill, a rude

The Family of Pico

stockade and corral for horses. This was the original mission site until August, 1774, when the mission was moved about a league further up the valley, leaving the abandoned tule and wood structures to the presidial garrison.¹⁵ However, two rooms were reserved for visiting friars and for storage of mission supplies landed from the boats. In 1776 Father Font adds to the picture:¹⁶

They have labored during these days to secure the *presidio*, which was so dilapidated that there were neither separate quarters nor guard-house for the soldiers, nor even a complete stockade for its security and protection¹⁷ . . . I may note that the church was a bad and old hut of tule which formerly served as a storehouse¹⁸ . . . by accident fire was set to a fair-sized tule hut which served as a forge, and it was not possible to put it out, try as hard as they might, although all the people rushed to the spot; and then I realized, as I had already known, how dangerous are buildings of tule or grass and logs.

About the time the Pico family became residents, Bancroft wrote:¹⁹

Work of collecting foundation stones was begun as early as 1778 and the next decade speaks of extensive repairs rather than original construction. I suppose that the palisades were at least replaced by an *adobe* wall enclosing the necessary buildings, public and private. Here on the hill lived about 125 persons, men, women and children.

Life was primitive at San Diego. The accommodations for living quarters were cramped due to a noticeable lack of buildings. Two bronze swivel cannon guarded the fortress,²⁰ one covering the harbor and one the Indian village. For those who did not obey orders there was a stocks where one might contemplate his misdeeds while his arms and legs were imprisoned.

The river that flowed from the *sierras* down past the hill was often dry, and drinking water had to be obtained by digging wells in its sandy bed. What little water was obtained scarcely sufficed for bare necessities and as a consequence there were few crops raised and a scarcity of provisions in the larder. Supplies were always short and candles such a luxury that nearly all the people retired at sundown.

The natives living in the *rancherias* dotted along the level stretches, were the lowest form of California Indians and most re-

luctant of conversion to Christianity. Father Font was disgusted with them and compares them to the Jezuiches:²²

. . . both in their perverse intentions and bad hearts, as well as because they are of degenerated bodies, ugly, dirty, disheveled, filthy, ill-smelling, and flat-faced.²³

Not a very pretty picture! They fished from little tule canoes, using hooks and harpoons.²⁴ Often when a whale was beached the natives relayed the news and swarmed to the scene to gorge themselves until only the skeleton remained.

From their lofty elevation,²⁵ the people of the *presidio* could often see spirals of smoke from the *sierras* which indicated news of one Indian village being relayed to another. These primitive communications might be of little interest and on the other hand they might forbode a raid or foray on the settlers of their livestock. The Pico family were early acquainted with the Indian situation for the year after their arrival, news was brought in that the *Pamo rancheria* was busily engaged in making arrows to be used against the Spainards. Lieutenant Ortega sent a warning which was ignored and so Sergeant Guillermo Carrillo was sent to capture the four chiefs. When they were brought to the *presidio* the troops were ordered to be present under arms.²⁶ In view of all present the first public execution in California took place at 9:00 A. M., April 11, 1778, as the four chiefs were slain by two musket shots apiece. Santiago's young sons were wide-eyed at this violent spectacle and all decided to join the guard when they were old enough to bear arms.

Outside of Indian scares, life was most uneventful. Bancroft says:²⁷

Each year in summer or early autumn one of the transport vessels entered the harbor and landed a year's supplies at the *embarcadero* several miles down the bay, to be brought up by the *presidio* mules. Every week or two small parties of soldier couriers arrived from Loreto, in the south, or Monterey, in the north, with ponderous dispatches for officials here and to the north, and with items of news for all. Each day of festival a friar came over from the mission to say mass and otherwise care for the spiritual interests of soldiers and their families; and thus the time dragged on from day to day and year to year, with hardly a ripple on the sea of monotony.



— Photo courtesy of Ramona Parlor, N. S. G. W. No. 109

PIO PICO

Senor Pico carried a cane, the handle of which was an ivory lady's leg encased in a high gold shoe. The tiny buttons were diamonds.

The Family

Santiago
Maria Jacin

José Dolores (1764 - 1827) <i>m. 1791</i>	José Maria (1765 - 1819) <i>m. 1789</i>	José Miguel (1766 - 1819) <i>m.</i>
Gertrudis Amezquita <i>m. 1804</i>	Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez	Casilda Sino
Isabel Cota		

José Antonio Bernardo <i>m. 1828</i>	Maria Concepcion Nicanor (1797 - 1871) <i>m. 1810</i>
Soledad Ybarra <i>m. after 1845</i>	Domingo Ant. Ignacio Carrillo
Magdalena (B/V)aca	

Maria Estefana (1802-3 - before 1846) <i>m.</i>	Maria Casimira (1804 - after 1846) <i>m.</i>
José Antonio Ezequiel Carrillo	José Joaquin Geronimo Ortega

Andres (1810 - 1876)	Feleciana (1812 - before 1876) <i>m.</i>
	. . . Arguello

of Pico

uz Pico

3/V) astida

cisco Javier (1770) Patricio (1771) Maria Ant. Tomasa Maria Josefa

Tomasa (1799 - before 1876)
m.

ncisco Javier Alvarado, III

Pio de Jesus (1801 - 1894)
m. 1834

Maria Ignacia Alvarado

Maria Jacinta (1806)
m.

José Antonio Ezequiel Carrillo

Ysidora (1808 - 1882)
m. 1838

John Forster

Anita Gale (1818 - 1859)
m.

Jonathan T. Warner



— Photo Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum

ANDRES PICO

*General Andres Pico signed the Treaty of Cahuenga,
January 13, 1847*

The Family of Pico

Santiago Pico had fulfilled his allotted enlistment by 1786 and was retired after ten years of service. The *pueblo* of Nuestra Senora la Reina de los Angeles had been founded by Governor Felipe de Neve five years earlier on the Rio Porciuncula. Pico learned that Governor Pedro Fages had commissioned Alfrez José Arguello to go to the *pueblo* and give the nine remaining original settlers formal possession of their lands which included a house lot, four fields and a branding iron. New settlers were desired to augment the original nine and, being a pioneer at heart, Pico decided to cast his lot with the embryo *ciudad*.²³ Accordingly in 1786, the Picos were among the twenty new families that settled in what is now Los Angeles, bringing the population up to a figure of 141 *gente de razon*, men, women and children.

Los Angeles was little more than a farming community dependent upon the more important parent center at Mission San Gabriel, for its very existence. Twelve *adobes* were clustered about the *plaza* with a few scattered in close proximity. There seemed little chance for advancement in life among the retired soldiers and their families and the first ideas of private *ranchos* began to form in men's minds. A few men with foresight, watching the operations of the missions and on so large a scale, saw the possibilities of expanding if private ownership of land were to be permitted. Each man in the *pueblo* had his few head of livestock, small garden patch and grazing lands, but these were limited. A few sheep were distributed among the *pobladores*, a fact that sent Santiago Pico into day-dreaming of vast flocks covering hundreds of acres with himself the owner of the land. What a heritage in this new world to bequeath to his sons, a patrimony fit for a prince! Pico applied to Governor Diego Borica for a kingly domain, the 92,341 acres of *San José de Gracia de Simi*, which was later referred to simply as Simi. The governor gave him this grant in 1795, allowing him to stock the land but refusing him permission to give up his residence in the *pueblo* to live on the *ranch*o. The grant was made in the name of three of Santiago's sons, namely: Francisco Javier, Patricio, and José Miguel, all soldiers of the Santa Barbara company. In 1802 Santiago de la Cruz Pico was living at the Simi with the above

named sons and their families. The *rancho* was confirmed to the same sons in 1821 and again in 1842.

The eldest son, José Dolores was transferred from the Santa Barbara company to the Monterey company in 1795, where he founded the northern branch of the Pico family.

José Maria Pico, second eldest and founder of the southern branch of the family, was responsible through his descendants for the fame of the name of Pico for all times. At the age of seventeen he was listed on the rolls of the San Diego company in 1782, but was sent to Santa Barbara in 1785 for a brief spell. When he returned he found the family of Juan Francisco Lopez had been transferred from San Gabriel to San Diego and he hastened to renew his old acquaintance with Dona Feliciana and her two little girls of the Anza expedition. Instead of the little girl of four that he remembered, Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez was now a most desirable beauty. His role of erstwhile playmate soon changed to that of suitor. The banns of marriage were published on three successive Sundays and on May 10, 1789, they were married in the *presidio* chapel, San Diego, Father Hilario Torrent officiating, with witnesses Philipe Romero, the *presidio* blacksmith, and the soldier Juan Maria Verdugo. The groom was twenty-four years old and the bride seventeen.³⁰ In the marriage register the wedding was listed as No. 320, the second white marriage ever to take place in the *presidio* chapel, with only one more recorded before 1800.

José Maria and Maria Eustaquia remained at the *presidio* of San Diego where on May 21, 1794, their first child was born and christened José Antonio Bernardo Pico. The first son, known affectionately as "Picito" or "little Pico," because of his small stature, was referred to by James Ohio Pattie in his *Narrative* as being sympathetic and kindly. A girl was born on January 14, 1797, and christened Maria Concepcion Nicanor.

The following year José Maria was promoted to corporal of the guard and commanded an *escolta* sent with Frays Peyri, Lasuen and Santiago to found the new mission of San Luis Rey on June 13. While her husband was away on this assignment, Maria Eustaquia gave birth to a second daughter, Maria Tomasa, on January 20, 1799. Father Peyri and the San Luis Rey Mission progressed so

The Family of Pico

well from the very beginning that José Maria was transferred to Mission San Gabriel as corporal of the guard late in 1800, whither he removed his wife and three children to their new quarters. San Gabriel was at this time under the jurisdiction of the San Diego company to which Pico was assigned throughout his lifetime. The year 1801 was beset with troubles for there were not only Indian annoyances but a great fire destroyed much of the grain at the mission.

The most famous of all José Maria's sons was born during this tour of duty and according to Englehardt, his baptismal record read:³¹

No. 3,276 — *Pio de Jesus Pico* — May 6, 1801, in this church of the Mission of San Gabriel, I baptized an infant born on the 5th day of May, the legitimate son of Joseph Maria Pico, corporal in charge of the guard of this Mission, and of Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez, and I conferred on him the name Pio de Jesus. The sponsors were Claudio Lopez, retired soldier of the *Presidio* of San Diego, and his wife Maria Luisa Cota — Father Francisco Miguel Sanchez.

Eulalia Perez de Guillen, the famous centenarian, officiated as mid-wife at this auspicious birth. The guard, Antonio Guillen, and his wife, Eulalia, were former neighbors of the Picos' in the San Diego *presidio* and had moved north about the same time. Pio's birth was followed by that of Maria Estefana, and in 1804 by Maria Casimira.

After thirty years of active duty, Pico was recalled to San Diego in 1805 and advanced to sergeant of the San Diego company. There being two sergeants, the other was Joaquin Arce. Moving a wife and six children with all their household goods from San Gabriel to San Diego would have to be done by *carreta*, camping along the way until the destination was reached. Senora Pico was expecting another child and decided to remain in the north until her husband's duties were more definitely decided upon. The Indian problems in the south were more pronounced than at San Gabriel and Los Angeles, and the soldiers were continually absent on assignments. At the time Maria Jacinta was born her father was sent with Alferez Maitorena, Father Sanchez, twenty soldiers and three interpreters, to explore the *sierra* from San Luis Rey toward San Miguel.³² From June 20 to July 14, 1806, they visited the *rancherias*

for over a hundred miles, arresting fugitive neophytes and otherwise gaining information and cementing good relations.

Captain Raymundo Carrillo came to take command at San Diego in the latter part of 1807,³³ bringing with him his wife, Tomasa Lugo, and their five children. Some of their children had been born at this very place when the Carrillos were here earlier. Raymundo died at his post in 1809. Two of his sons were destined to marry three of Pico's daughters and thus continue the line of these great pioneers. José Maria had moved his family back to the *presidio* by 1808 and in that same year Ysidora was born. Little did anyone dream that one day this baby girl would be mistress of the great Mission of San Juan Capistrano. The Pico boys, José Antonio and Pio, were busy with their schooling and received lessons in reading and writing from the wife of their father's fellow sergeant, Matilde Carrillo de Arce.

A romance had flourished between Maria Concepcion Nicanor and the cadet Domingo Antonio Ignacio Carrillo, and their nuptials occurred October 14, 1810. Father Barona married the bride of thirteen years and nine months to the groom of nineteen years, both natives of the San Diego *presidio*. In little more than six weeks after the wedding, the proud parents of the bride became parents of their third son, Andres, born November 30, 1810. He was baptized in the *presidio* chapel on December 2, 1810, the sponsors being Sergeant Mariano Mercado, and his wife, Josefa Sol de Mercado. Witnesses were Don Santiago Arguello and Senior Maria Orrosco.

One year later in November, 1811,³⁴ great excitement was caused when Father Panto, who had served at the Mission San Diego Alcalá for the past fourteen months, accused his Indian cook Nazario of poisoning his soup. The Indian admitted having done so but explained that he did so to escape the cruel floggings administered by the priest. An investigation ensued in which the prosecutor was Domingo Carrillo; the defender, his father-in-law, José Maria Pico, and the clerk, Pico's fellow sergeant, Joaquin Arce.

The next year brought both joy and trouble to the Pico household; joy at the birth of Feliciano and trouble when her father was thrown into prison.³⁵ Talk of Mexican independence had been agitated throughout Mexico and California and Pico had been

The Family of Pico

accused, along with several other soldiers, of a plan to overthrow the post and seize command. His innocence was established and he was exonerated and pardoned within three days through the intercession of the *padres*. The other prisoners did not fare so well. Ramon Rubio and José M. Lopez died in jail and Ygnacio Zuniga and Canedo were shackled with two pair of irons each, remaining in confinement until Mexican independence.

Domingo Carrillo's younger brother, José Antonio Ezequiel, was teaching a school for boys at the *presidio* in 1813 when he was but seventeen years old. His interest in the Pico family lay not in one of his pupils named Pio, but rather in his sister Estefana.

The elder Pico had been dispatched to San Gabriel in command of four companies, to avert a threatened Indian uprising, but life for the family in San Diego continued much the same. When he returned he decided he had had enough of Indian campaigns for one lifetime and asked permission of the *commandante* to retire from active duty. The *commandante* granted his request by giving him orders to go to San Gabriel in 1815 to await his discharge. José Maria decided to take his family north with him as there were no opportunities for an invalid soldier's future in the south. This decision so alarmed his daughter and her lover that Estefana and José Antonio Carrillo were married when the Pico family left San Diego. José Antonio Bernardo, the eldest son, also remained and enlisted in the San Diego company in 1815.

But man proposes and God disposes and Pico's retirement was not granted. He was told the military needed experienced Indian scouts such as he. The pirate Hipolite Bouchard cruised the coast of California in 1818 striking terror from Monterey to San Diego. At San Gabriel, José Maria received orders to come immediately to San Diego. He commissioned his son Pio to take over command of the guard at the mission during his absence and hurriedly rode south. The women and children of the *presidio* were sent inland to Pala for their own protection and Pico assumed command of the soldiers to defend the town. Here he found Cristobal Dominguez had supplanted his fellow sergeant, Joaquin Arce. When the excitement had died down he retraced his route to San Gabriel and resumed command of the guards, consisting of four residents of the

pueblo of Los Angeles. One of the fugitives from Bouchard's pirate ship, Joseph Chapman, later became a respected citizen of the state of California. After receiving religious instructions he was baptized a Catholic by Father José Senan on June 24, 1822, his sponsor being José Maria's younger brother, Miguel, an invalid soldier of Santa Barbara.³⁶

José Maria Pico was in continual active service from his enlistment until his death which occurred at San Gabriel in September, 1819. Active duty precluded private ownership of land for a soldier so his widow found herself with no holdings or material ties. Landless and poor with seven children to rear, she decided to remove the family once again to the more familiar and friendly surroundings of San Diego. They found the *presidio* almost in ruins and so dilapidated that it afforded little protection or shelter. With no income it became necessary for each of the children to do his or her share of work to support the family.

Pio, the eldest son living at home, kept a little store and sold groceries, liquors, furniture and clothing. He later expanded the business and took on a clerk so that he might make trips to Baja California to barter in goods and livestock.

Maria Tomasa and her mother taught the younger girls needlework at which they became very adept. By means of their sewing they were able to add to the earnings which were carefully saved for future independence and a home of their own. Tomasa and Pio, only a year apart, were the greatest of pals and the most mischievous in plotting fun. Young Andres could not console himself with playmates of his own age but plagued his older brother's footsteps, begging to be allowed a share of all his ventures. At first Pio was amused as a tolerant parent would be, but gradually there grew between them a bond stronger than most brothers ever share. Senora Pico had learned much from life and was esteemed by men and women alike for the respect she demanded and received from her children. Pio admitted that when he was twenty-one years old his mother would not let him go out after dark.

Sergeant Cristobal Dominguez and his wife had a large family of children. Their second daughter, Marcelina, had married a Boston Yankee and sailed from these shores. Her husband was William

The Family of Pico

A. Gale, a trader and partner of Alfred Robinson. The Gales had a little daughter named Anita, born in 1818 in far away Boston. Marcelina died in childbirth and the heartbroken father brought the child back to California with him when she was three years old. Senora Pico realized the little girl needed a mother's loving care and agreed to take the child and rear her as one of her very own children. Thus an adopted sister grew up in the Pico household.

In 1823 there was enough money saved by all the family so that with the help of the two boys, Pio and Andres, they erected in 1824 the sixth house to be built down below *presidio* hill on what later became Juan Street. To the Picos, this long dreamed of and finally realized home was more beautiful than any *adobe* in paradise itself. It contained "two *salas*, three *cuartos* in front, one *sala* of ten *varas*, the other of nine *varas* and the *ancho* of all the walls six and one-half *varas*. A backyard, one kitchen, two rooms with doors facing the south onto the backyard, and one bathroom."

Juan Bandini, another resident of Old Town, erected an imposing *adobe* on the *plaza*. The house was blessed in 1829, with a gala *fiesta* following the ceremony. People came from near and far to enjoy the festivities and among them were the two merchants Gale and Robinson who happened to be transacting business in the settlement. This was a joyful reunion for little Anita and her father whom she so seldom saw since becoming an adopted daughter of the Picos.³⁸ Alfred Robinson wrote of the event:

Senor Bandini had his house *bendicido* or blessed, during our stay here, and Gale and myself were invited to attend. The Governardo General, his officers, with many friends and their families were present. The ceremony took place at noon, when the chaplain proceeded through the different apartments, sprinkling holy water upon the walls and uttering verses in Latin. This concluded, we sat down to an excellent dinner, consisting of all the luxuries the place afforded, provided in Don Juan's best style. As soon at the cloth was removed, the guitar and violin were put in requisition, and a dance began. It lasted, however, but a little while, for it was necessary for them to spare their exertions for the evening *fandango*. So, *poco a poco*, all gradually retired to their homes.

Senora Pico lived long enough to see seven of her children and her adopted daughter married and to witness with pride the great

honors that were bestowed upon her son, Pio, when he was twice made Governor of Alta California.

Tomasa became the wife of Francisco Javier Alvarado, III. He built her a home in Old Town San Diego in the late 1820's. Richard Henry Dana met her there during his hide-droughting duties of 1835 and 1836, and when he revisited the coast again in 1859, he spoke with nostalgia of the fact that Tomasa seemed to be the only familiar face of the original *gente de razon* that he remembered so vividly:³⁹

The little town of San Diego has undergone no change whatever that I can see. It certainly has not grown. It is still, like Santa Barbara, a Mexican town. The four principal houses of the *gente de razon* — of the Bandinis, Estudillos, Arguellos, and Picos — are the chief houses now; but all the gentlemen — and their families, too, I believe — are gone . . . and I can scarce find a person whom I remember. Dona Tomasa Pico I found and talked with. She was the only person of the old upper class that remained on the spot, if I rightly recollect.

José Antonio's marriage to Soledad Ybarra in 1828 was closely followed by that of his sister Maria Casimira to José Joaquin Geronimo Ortega.

On February 24, 1834, Pio and Maria Ignacia Alvarado, daughter of the late Francisco Javier Alvarado and Maria Ignacia Amador, were united in holy matrimony in the Church of Our Lady, Queen of the Angels, in Los Angeles. Governor José Figueroa served as groomsman and Pio's sister and brother-in-law, Estefana and José Antonio Carrillo, accorded them the most elaborate wedding feast ever given in California. Guests and relatives from Monterey to San Diego had assembled for the eight-day celebration. The Carrillo's *adobe* on the *plaza* was the center of all the merrymaking.

The next wedding to be celebrated was that of Anita Gale and Jonathan Trumbull Warner, baptized Juan José Warner. The services were held at Mission San Luis Rey in 1837 and Pio stood with his adopted sister and her groom as *padrino* and God-father.

Ysidora was the only member of her family to wed outside of her own race, choosing the Englishmen John Forster, for her husband in 1838.

Senora Pico did not live to witness the weddings of Jacinta and Feliciano nor the second marriage of her eldest son, José Antonio.

The Family of Pico

Estefana had died of malaria and her bereaved husband turned for consolation to Jacinta, his wife's younger sister, who bore a striking resemblance to his departed wife. A bond of love and sympathy was directly responsible for the second marriage of José Antonio Carrillo to his sister-in-law, Jacinta.

Several years had elapsed since the death of Soledad Ybarra de Pico when, in 1846, José Antonio took for his second wife Magdalena Vaca, a widow from Los Angeles.

Andres remained a bachelor, but Feliciana completed the marital roster for the family by her union with a son of Don Santiago Arguello.

Pio was in mourning when he addressed a letter to Father Duran on February 6, 1846, as follows:⁴⁰

I have before me your very welcome letter of the 24th of January and give you very many thanks for the part you have taken in the grief which the death of my mother has caused me. I hope that in your prayers your REV. PATERNITY will not forget the rest of her soul.

Seventy years before, a little girl had received her first welcome to California at Mission San Gabriel. During the intervening years four of her ten children were born at the site, and twenty-seven years before, her husband had died and been buried here. Now Maria Eustaquia Gutierrez de Pico, at the age of seventy-four, returned to the friendly surroundings of San Gabriel for her last long sleep. She was accorded the honor of burial within the church facing the altar.

NOTES

1. *Outpost of Empire*, pp 126-7. Herbert Eugene Bolton.
2. *Font's Complete Dairy*, pp 21-23. Herbert Eugene Bolton.
3. *Beginnings of San Francisco*, Vol 1. Zoeth Skinner Eldridge.
4. *Font's Complete Dairy*, p 138. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Outpost of Empire*, p 205. Herbert Eugene Bolton.
5. A league is equal to about four miles.
6. *Anza's California Expeditions*, Vol. III, p 101. H. E. Bolton.
7. *Font's Complete Dairy*, p 178. H. E. Bolton.
8. *Anza's California Expeditions*, Vol. III, p 118. H. E. Bolton.
9. *Font's Complete Dairy*, p 287-8. H. E. Bolton.
10. *Ibid*, p 289.
11. Bancroft, *California Series*, Vol. I, p. 286.
12. *Anza's California Expeditions*, Vol. III, p 387. H. E. Bolton; *Outpost of Empire*, p 302. H. E. Bolton.
13. Bancroft, *California Series*, Vol. I, p 288.

14. *Ibid*, p 204.
Palisades were slight fences of sticks covered with *adobe* or mud.
15. *Ibid*, p 230.
16. *Font's Complete Dairy*, p 211. H. E. Bolton.
17. *Ibid*, p 216.
18. *Ibid*, p 207.
19. Bancroft, *California Series*, Vol. I, p 453.
20. *Ibid*, p 204.
21. *Font's Complete Dairy*, p 193. H. E. Bolton.
22. *Ibid*, p 195.
23. *Ibid*, p 196.
24. *Ibid*, p 206.
25. *Ibid*, p 205.
26. Bancroft, *California Series*, Vol I, p 316.
27. *Ibid*, p 453.
28. *Ibid*, pp 460-1
29. *Gente de razon* — People of reason, civilized folk.
30. *San Diego Mission* p 140. Father Zephryn Englehardt, O.F.M.
31. *Ibid*, p 265
32. Bancroft, *California Series*, Vol. II, p 47.
33. *Ibid*, p 100.
34. *Ibid*, p 345.
35. *Ibid*, p 344; *Pio Pico Hist. California*, MS., pp3-4.
36. *San Gabriel Mission*, p 154. Father Zephryn Englehardt, O.F.M.
37. *San Diego Union*, July 18, 1876.
39. *Two Years Before The Mast*, pp 481-2. Richard Henry Dana.
40. *Missions and Missionaries*, Vol IV, p 466. Father Zephryn Englehardt, O.F.M.



Population

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

One hundred and twenty years ago, according to the census of 1833, there were 1675 white people living in the area now designated as Los Angeles County. The Indian population was given at 553. In 1836, there were only thirty Americans living in the *pueblo* of Los Angeles.

— Willard, Charles Dwight, *The History of Los Angeles*.
Kingsley, Barnes & Neuner Co., Los Angeles, 1901.
Page 169.

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

By Helen Pruitt Beattie



FEW INDIANS are attracting less attention today than the Indians of California, and yet time was when they were the objects of much thought. Readers of California history know that Spain, in 1767, sent a military expedition from Mexico to conquer Alta California, and a party of missionary friars went with them to Christianize and civilize the native population. So well did these *padres* do their work that in slightly more than thirty years, between thirteen and fourteen thousand savages had been baptized and given instruction in the elements of the Christian faith and in many of the arts and industries of civilized life.

In the San Bernardino Valley, Mission San Gabriel established several stations, most important one including the Guachama Indian *ranchería*, west of what is now Redlands. The intention was to give instruction in agriculture to the natives, and in order to obtain water for irrigation, a crude waterway heading in a stream a few miles to the east was constructed. This was destined to become the historic Mill Creek *zanja* of today, the pride and joy of Redlands. Dating back to 1819, it is by far the oldest irrigation ditch in San Bernardino County, and the forerunner of elaborate water systems that were to come.

Evil times began for these and other Indians of California when in the early 1820's, the rule of Spain over the region yielded to that of Mexico; but even under Mexican domination Indian rights as human beings and land owners were respected as they were not respected by many of the Americans who came into power in the state a quarter of a century later. From then on they were generally

regarded as mere nomads with no rights calling for respect. The fact that many of them had for generations maintained themselves on lands they had deemed their own was ignored. It is worth noting, however, that in the San Bernardino Valley Mormon settlers who came down from Utah in 1851 exercised a fairness toward their Indian neighbors and Indian property much greater than was usual among settlers elsewhere in the region.

The Indians of the valley and regions adjacent were of Shoshonean stock speaking Serrano and Cahuilla dialects. The Serranos occupied the valley and the mountains to the north and northeast and as far west as Cucamonga. Yucaipa was Serrano land but San Timoteo Canyon was Cahuilla territory. San Gorgonio Pass was a meeting place, about half way between the two tribes. The Morongo reservation was probably Serrano, but the two tribes intermingled and intermarried there. The Indians of the Guachama *ranchería* west of Redlands were naturally Serranos. The few of that tribe in the valley today have their homes on the little 640-acre reservation at the base of the mountains north of Highland, a tract in which there may not be more than five acres of arable land. This, however, has mattered but little to them since they were never really farmers, by choice, even when under mission influence.

The Cahuilla lands covered a wide area — from present-day Warner's Ranch to the Salton Sea. There are really two sorts of Cahuillas, those living up on the slopes of the San Jacinto Mountains and those spreading out over the Colorado Desert eastward.

It should be remembered that the Mojaves and the Chemehuevis were of Ute stock and lived on the Colorado River on the east side of the Mojave Desert. In time the two tribes became enemies, and the Chemehuevis moved toward the lands of the desert Cahuillas and fraternized with them, as they still do. Jurupa and what is now Riverside was a sort of meeting point for the Serranos, Gabrieliños, and Luiseños. The Cahuillas were definitely less civilized than the Mission Indians of the coast and interior parts of California and did not mingle much with them.

The Indian population in the San Bernardino Valley when the Americans entered was numerous. The United States census taken

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

in 1850, when the region was included in Los Angeles County, was inconclusive as regards the Indians, but the census of 1860 showed 1797 white persons in San Bernardino County (which had been formed in 1853) and 3010 Indians, the whites being definitely in the minority. Of course, Riverside County had not then been formed, and these figures did not include the Indians of the Mojave Desert.

The smallpox epidemic which struck the valley in the fall of 1862 exacted a frightful toll from the native population. Certain *rancherías* were depopulated, and from then on the white race was predominant. It was then that Cahuillas practically disappeared from San Timoteo, their powerful chief, Juan Antonio, being one to succumb to the disease.

In 1858, George H. Crafts, acting as agent for his brother, Myron, purchased between four and five hundred acres of land lying along the *zanja* east of what is now Redlands, a tract that became well-known later as Crafton. Myron Crafts, a shrewd and energetic New Englander, arrived in 1861, and proceeded at once to develop his lands by flooding fields with *zanja* water for grain and by setting out orchards and vineyards. A few words concerning him should not be out of place here, in view of what follows.

He was born in Massachusetts in 1816, and was a man of strong character, one who made warm friends and bitter enemies. While clerking in a New York establishment he showed a missionary spirit by helping in the famous Five Points Mission in the tough part of the city. He engaged in the drygoods business in Jackson, Michigan; and his store there was burned three times because of his abolitionist principles.

Coming to the San Bernardino Valley at the beginning of the Civil War, he found the region was a hotbed of secessionism. He was an ardent Unionist, and at one time his life was so endangered that his friends did not allow him to go from San Bernardino to his home in Crafton alone. Also, he was aggressively "anti-liquor" when the manufacture of wine and brandy from grapes grown in the region was a highly important, if not the first industry of the

county. He made his grapes into raisins. Religious sentiment was at low ebb in the valley then, but he actively supported services that were being held in the County Courthouse, and also a Sunday School attended by Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Mormons. He made the long trip from his Crafton ranch for these gatherings.

In due time Mr. Crafts was sun-drying large quantities of mission grapes and peaches, and employed from seventy-five to one hundred Indians at certain times, giving them wages and board. When the men were paid in money, much of it went for liquor and gambling, and the wives and children suffered accordingly. One Indian agent reported, "the Indian appetite for liquor is so insatiable that he will spend a week's hard-earned wages freely when he knows his family is starving." To remedy, or at least to combat this situation, Mr. Crafts established a store on his ranch and paid wages in goods. This invited the suspicion that so often attaches to "company stores," but the families of the laborers were doubtless the gainers.

Mr. Crafts realized that the Indians would be less at the mercy of unscrupulous liquor sellers and gamblers if they could be moved from their scattered living places to a reservation, and he had some correspondence with Government authorities in Washington in the early 1870's. It was very possibly as a result of this correspondence that the Reverend John G. Ames was sent out in 1873 to investigate and report upon the condition of Mission Indians. He was not pleased by what he found. He told how they were being driven from their homes by unfeeling whites, and he urged that they be given titles to the lands they occupied.

In August, 1878, the U. S. Government appointed the Reverend Samuel S. Lawson, then living in Illinois, as Special Agent for the Mission Indians in the southernmost counties in California, and by 1879 he had established headquarters in San Bernardino, the first Indian agent to maintain an office there. Incidentally, he was the grandfather of James A. Guthrie, the well-known owner and editor of the San Bernardino *Daily Sun* and the San Bernardino *Evening Telegram*. Under President Grant the government had adopted a plan of apportioning Indian agencies among different religious de-

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

nominations in an effort to get such posts out of the political plum category, and Southern California fell to the Evangelical Lutherans. Rev. Lawson had been a Lutheran clergyman in an Illinois church. His arrival was noted in the *San Bernardino Weekly Times* on August 24, with the statement that "he . . . will probably advise the purchase of a reservation for them [the Indians in the region] upon which they can gain a living." A week later the paper said, "he will probably report in favor of having the *Potrero* made a permanent headquarters for an agency in this county."

The *Potrero* had been set aside for the Indians by an Executive Order of President Hayes in 1877, but action by Congress was necessary to establish a permanent reservation, and that action was not taken. As to the precise location of the *Potrero*, there is evidence to indicate that the name — apparently meaning "grassy spot" — was originally that of an Indian village in a tract that included the little town of Banning, a trading center even then. The name seems to have been applied later to the entire area. Several other reservations had been set aside by Executive Decree also, but lack of water for irrigation and the consequent sterility of the soil had made them of but little value. Moves toward such ends had begun as early as 1852.

In his first annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August 28, 1879, Agent Lawson lists the Cahuillas, Serranos, San Luis Rey and San Diego Indians as being under his care, and the aggregate number, according to a census taken in 1880, was slightly over 3,000. He stated in a later report that more than two-thirds of them lived in villages scattered over San Diego County, including the Colorado Desert, the others being found along the southern border of San Bernardino County. It should be remembered that Imperial and Riverside Counties had not then been formed. The smaller, isolated reservations that had been set apart earlier included nearly 100,000 acres, largely mountainous or desert terrain that was largely useless. It can readily be seen that his district was impossible to visit frequently in those days of primitive transportation.

Agent Lawson was summoned to a conference with the Com-

missioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior in Washington in October, 1879, and he evidently pressed the urgent need of permanent reservations at that time, especially the one at the *Potrero*. That was the one he knew best. He seems to have been assured that Congress would act in the matter, and a California member did present a bill covering it. Unfortunately, it failed of passage. Mr. Lawson's intensive disappointment shows in his report written in August, 1880.

Coming with an announced purpose to accomplish what Mr. Crafts had advocated for years, one would have expected the two men to work as allies in a common cause. Instead a controversy developed between them, accounts of which occupied space in Riverside and San Bernardino newspapers for weeks. The Indians were not slow about making use of the situation to air various grievances and complaints, some of which may have been justified but many of which had their origin in mere cupidity and lawlessness.

Mr. Lawson stated that Indians were paid fifty cents per day, in calico at twenty-five cents a yard, and in other goods at correspondingly high prices, in a little store in the locality. He did not mention any names, but he clearly had the Crafts store in mind. It must have been hard for the general public to know what to believe.

Some of the Indians whom Mr. Craft's system of wage-paying had deprived of their means of obtaining liquor lodged complaints against him with the agent, claiming that they were being overcharged and cheated. One Indian who had been a frequent offender as a thief was found with goods he had stolen from the store. He was arrested on complaint of Mr. Crafts and brought before a San Bernardino justice. He claimed, and another Indian supported him, that he had received the goods in payment for work. In spite of the testimony of Mr. Crafts and his son-in-law and the entries in the store books showing the Indian's account to have been overdrawn at the time, the case was dismissed on motion of the district attorney. The justice in a public card said, "There are many Indians I would believe on oath as soon as I would a Crafts." Animosity in the valley toward Mr. Crafts is apparent in this.

Israel Beale, a very fair-minded colored man who had worked

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

for several years on a ranch adjoining the Crafts property, when asked what he thought of the complaints regarding the store, replied that he felt that the cheating was on the other side, that the Indians took many things to which they had no right.

Another Indian showed Agent Lawson a small piece of baked squash and two soggy biscuits, claiming that these formed the dinner served him as his board. Other Indians said they had been given similar fare, and on some days were given nothing at all. George Crafts, who had a large part in the management of the help on his father's ranch, stated in an article printed in the *San Bernardino Times* that the items mentioned as the Indian's entire meal were "what was left after the Indian had eaten his dinner, which had been received at Mr. Crafts' kitchen door . . . and had been there consumed."

Edwin C. Brink, a recently arrived neighbor of Mr. Crafts, on his own initiative investigated the meals supplied the Indians on the Craft's ranch, and in a letter to a San Bernardino paper said in substance that he would be happy if he could provide for his own family as good and as abundant food as the Indians were receiving. Years after, in speaking of these Indians, Mrs. Crafts wrote:

. . . their food consisted of meat, beans, bread, corn, potatoes, and other vegetables in their season. A tin plate of well-cooked food was given to each Indian, who took it to his camp to share with his family . . . They seemed to think the ranch was their own, to help themselves to whatever they wanted to supply their larder, not only to the grain and fruit they wanted, but they carried gunny-sack loads to *Potrero*. Even sheep were not free from their depredations.

Agent Lawson had been impressed by the Indian complaints, and in his first report dated in August, 1879, said, ". . . wrongs had been practiced on these helpless people, and that too, in many cases, by pretended friends . . ." The word "friends" doubtless had special reference to the Crafts family.

So far as the local papers were concerned, the controversy between the agent and Mr. Crafts subsided after Mr. Crafts was arrested on a charge of inciting the Mission Indians to insurrection,

but honorably discharged after examination before a commissioner of the United States District Court in Los Angeles, September 24, 1879. Two Indians who had been arrested on the charge of insurrectionary conduct and confined in the Federal prison at Alcatraz were set free about a week later and sent to their homes in San Geronimo Pass. The reason for the supposed revolt is not clear.

Mr. Crafts had done much for the Indians who worked for him. The younger ones were eager to learn to read and write English, and Mrs. Crafts and her daughter Belle taught them. When Dr. Brink opened a Sunday School in the little Lugonia schoolhouse a few miles to the west, Mr. Crafts supplied transportation to such Indians as cared to attend. This must have been three or four years before Mr. Lawson began his services as agent, since Mr. Brink filed upon a tract of land west of what is now Mentone in the spring of 1875, and was interested in having religious instruction for people in the community.

In October, 1874, George W. Beattie, a lad of fifteen, had come from Oberlin, Ohio, with his mother and grandmother, the latter buying a twenty-acre plot at the corner of what are now Church and Pioneer Streets in Redlands. In his *Memoirs*, written in the latter years of his life, he tells of teaching a class of Indian boys and men in the Lugonia school house, some of whom became leaders among their people. Later, when traveling about the country, he now and then met one of these men, who almost invariably came forward to greet him with a "Hello, Willie," that being the name by which they had known him.

In speaking of the Crafts - Lawson differences, Mr. Beattie says:

My own impression, after making a careful study of evidence presented in the matter, is that both were excellent men. The agent was an able and conscientious executive, but he had had much less experience with Indians, knew less of their characteristics, and had gained more or less misinformation. Mr. Crafts' keen Yankee trading instincts may have led him sometimes to drive close but not necessarily unfair bargains; but I cannot believe that he abused or exploited the Indians with whom he had to do. Dealing with those primitive people called for a high degree of tact and patience, and Mr. Crafts' exercised understanding and fore-

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

bearance toward them on many occasions, as we who knew him could testify.

In accordance with arrangements made in November, 1882, and January, 1883, with the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Helen Hunt Jackson and Abbot Kinney visited southern-most California counties to investigate conditions among the Indians and they made a number of practical recommendations. Mr. Kinney, the owner of an extensive estate near Sierra Madre, was a man of wide and varied experience. Some years later, he had a part in the founding of Venice in this state. He spoke Spanish and was somewhat familiar with the land laws of California and the way they had been enforced. He also had a wide acquaintance throughout the Southland, and Mrs. Jackson, realizing that he could be of immense help in her work, arranged for him to accompany her.

Mrs. Jackson's sympathetic attitude toward Indians generally, and her indignation over the failure of Congress to ratify and enforce treaties made with them show in her *Century of Dishonor* which had been published in 1881, before her visit to California Indians. In her report on this visit, (a report included in an edition of the book which was published in 1885) she voices her indignation over the lack of respect paid by Mexican landowners to Indian rights guaranteed in the Secularization Decree of 1834, as well as the lack of consideration shown by Americans. Allowance, however, should be made for the fact that persons from whom she gained information sometimes told the worst and not the best about a situation. In this later edition of *Century of Dishonor* are the various recommendations that she and Abbot Kinney offered, among them suggestions that for morality's sake especially, teachers in Indian school should be women; that good religious teachers be selected; that good honest doctors be employed; that a good lawyer or law firm in Los Angeles be appointed to look after Indian interests; that there be a distribution of agricultural implements such as wagons, harness, plows, spades, and hoes; and that boundaries of reservations be shown clearly.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico in 1848, should have insured the protection of Indian rights covered by the Seculari-

zation Decree of 1834, but American settlers entering California after the adoption of the treaty filed homestead claims on land which had been fenced, irrigated, tilled, and lived on by Indians for generations. The United States Land Commission provided for, in the Land Act of March, 1851, which sat in California, 1852-1857, "to ascertain and settle private land claims in California" often confirmed the claims of persons who were mere squatters. Ignorant of the law so recently passed requiring that they register and file upon their lands, the Indians had continued living as they and their fathers had done before them, only to find themselves, with no warning, dispossessed and evicted. Mexican landowners were not always careful about recognizing Indian rights, but they not infrequently suffered from American trespassing, themselves.

Mrs. Jackson's novel, *Ramona*, shows her reactions to the laxity of our Government regarding Indian rights along with her frequent overcredulousness regarding things told her. We remember that in this novel the big-hearted Aunt Ri interviewed the agent and the agency doctor in San Bernardino, and upbraided them and the government through them for inadequate arrangements for care of the sick and needy. It was Agent Lawson and his doctor, Albert Thompson of Colton, whom she would have seen.

Mrs. Jackson did not take the agent's difficulties into account sufficiently. In her recommendations she had suggested that he be expected to visit each village in his district twice yearly, and the doctor make the rounds four times. The doctor was also to answer calls for help whenever they came, regardless of distance to be traveled. Mr. Lawson, in his 1880 report had described the trouble he and the one doctor he was allowed encountered in looking after sick and ailing Indians in so wide an area, and the need for some hospital where those who came to him could be accommodated. The U. S. Commissioner was aware of unsatisfactory conditions prevailing. In one report he admitted that the Mission Indians were in abject poverty not to be found elsewhere on the American continent.

As is well known, these Indians had been under the influence of Spanish Catholic Missionaries for nearly a century, and many of them were tolerably advanced in agriculture, one writer speaking of

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

them as comparing favorably with the most highly civilized tribes of the eastern part of the country. However, the refining influences of the *padres* had ceased with the secularization of the missions in 1834, and it was the more or less degenerated descendants of the mission-taught Indians with whom Agent Lawson came in contact. Staunch Protestant that he was, he did not take their religion too seriously. In his first report, that of August, 1879, he says:

The ancestors of some of these tribesmen were baptized by the Spanish missionaries, and the practice had been continued ever since to have the children baptized by the visiting priest; yet no results have been attained by the outward, and to them, unmeaning rites, which would entitle them to be called Christians. No active missionary work is being carried on among them. Many of them have no more conception of the true God or knowledge of religious truth than the pagan.

Evidently Mr. Lawson had not then come into contact with the teaching in the Lugonia Sunday School, which would, however, have been a mere drop in the bucket of need for instruction of this sort. The Serranos had been more or less under the influence of the missionaries from San Gabriel who had established stations in the San Bernardino Valley and for many years after mission activity there ceased, some continued coming to the *asistencia* west of the Redlands of today, in a spirit of religious devotion. The Cahuillas as a tribe were not what were called Christian. Living so far from mission stations, the missionaries had not been able to reach them. They still believed in spirits and witchcraft. They were, however, anxious to have schools established among them. The San Bernardino *Times* describes a trial for witchcraft of a Cahuilla Indian as late as 1885, when J. G. McCullum, had succeeded the Rev. Mr. Lawson as agent. What the result of the trial was, was not reported.

Mrs. Jackson was strongly of the opinion that teachers in Indian schools should have a definite missionary spirit, and that in their visits to Indian homes they should give tactful hints regarding cleanliness, sanitation, ventilation, and so on, along with simple religious instruction. Mr. Lawson reported shocking sanitary conditions among the Indians, venereal as well as other forms of disease (acquired from Mexican soldiers in Mission days, as well as from certain Americans) being common. Mrs. Jackson reported that

Indians living on the *ranchos* and working for white men (although sadly underpaid usually) and those still cultivating land for themselves were not badly off economically; but those who hung about towns, as a result of eviction from lands they had long occupied, were usually vagrants, and local newspapers frequently referred to drunken acts committed by them.

Early in his administration Mr. Lawson had begun war upon persons supplying Indians with liquor, and the number of such persons was legion. The interpreter for the agency, "Captain" John (Juan) Morongo, a capable Serrano from the *Potrero*, acted as a sort of detective and was skillful in tripping liquor sellers. As a result, drunken Indians soon ceased to be noticeable in valley towns. Some of the would-be toppers resented being deprived of liquor and started agitation, claiming that Captain John was cheating them in business transactions, and demanding that he be replaced by someone else. Word of this reached Mrs. Jackson and she took it seriously, notwithstanding the agent's explanations.

One of the six schools for Indian children was in the village of Soboba and was called the oldest Government school in California. The village, consisting of some one hundred and fifty Cahuillas, was in the seven-hundred-acre Soboba Reservation in the valley on the east side of the San Jacinto mountain range. The fertile land there could be watered from a never-failing natural spring, and had been farmed by the Saboba people for more than a hundred years. The reservation was originally within the boundaries of a Mexican grant made to Juan Estudillo. It was patented to his heirs in 1860; and they, ignoring the Indians on it, sold seven hundred acres — the greater part of it — to Matthew Byrne, a shop-keeper in San Bernardino who, in turn, agreed to sell it to the government for a large sum. The village occupied about two hundred acres, the best part of the tract.

The school, of thirty-five or forty pupils, was taught by Miss Mary Sheriff, a Pennsylvania woman who had formerly conducted a school for freedmen. She possessed the missionary spirit in a high degree and deserves recognition in these pages. Her gentleness and refinement had their influence in the entire village, and her self-

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

sacrificing labor in times of sickness or misfortune were reported by Mrs. Jackson. At the time when the Indians were in danger of losing their land, she and Mrs. Jackson fought valiantly; and it is due in no slight degree to their efforts that the Sabobans are in possession of their reservation today, as they are. The correspondence with Washington concerning the matter is in the Huntington Library.

To digress a bit, Saboba women were greatly indebted some years later to another noble woman, Madam Sterling of Redlands, for sponsoring the art of making pillow lace. Much beautiful lace has come from the Saboba Reservation women.

The reservation occupied by the so-called "Mountain Cahuillas" was some forty miles south of Saboba, high up among spurs and peaks of the San Jacinto Mountains, with no white settlement within ten miles. It was supposed to include twenty-six sections of land, but Mrs. Jackson figured that there were possibly five hundred acres of good land in it. The Cahuillas had water available and did more farming than the Saboba people could do. They even rented some of their land in time. Their village contained nearly two hundred Indians, and their school was taught by a woman who with her daughter carried on under conditions often of extreme hardship. In the winter they were snowbound with but little fuel for fire, and they suffered from cold. Mrs. Jackson said:

The strain on the nervous system of teachers in such positions as these can hardly be estimated by ordinary standards. The isolation, the ceaseless demand, the lack, not only of the comforts, but of many of the necessities of life, all count up into a burden which it would seem no woman could long endure.

The desert part of the Cahuilla reservation boasted, and still boasts, a fine mineral hot spring (now in the city of Palm Springs) in which the Indians were accustomed to bathe, coming from great distances to do so. The desert had little running water, but there was water surprisingly near the surface, and it could be developed. Remains of a number of Indian wells may be seen today.

A school had been maintained at the *Potrero*, the teacher being

Miss Annie Lawson, daughter of the Indian agent. Her school was naturally less isolated than the other two we have mentioned, and after serving for about a year her report showed that she had found much to encourage her. Indian children had keen minds and were eager to learn. Her work was handicapped, however, by the fact that men on the *Potrero* had to move from place to place as employment demanded; and as the families had to go with them the children's studies were only too often interrupted. Consolidation of families on a reservation would have solved this latter problem, along with certain other problems, and this was one of the arguments Mr. Lawson used in his pleas for centralized living. Unfortunately, so far as the *Potrero* was concerned, Mrs. Jackson reported that the Indians did not like the place.

The moves toward establishing a reservation for valley Indians brought about some tense situations with natives who did not relish the idea of being restricted as to residence. Valley residents also were sorry to have Indian laborers moved to a location farther from them. The San Bernardino Valley had been free from Indian troubles since the campaign of valley residents against hostile Indians from the Mojave Desert in 1867; but at one time in 1879, it looked as though serious trouble might be at hand. Several stories, some highly inaccurate, appeared in local papers. For example, the *Riverside Press* of September 13, 1879, said:

The San Bernardino Indians are seriously dissatisfied with Mr. Lawson, Government agent. They complain that he has collected their wages from Mr. Crafts (and perhaps others) and only paid them a part . . . That the Indians, to the number of several hundred, are now collected about six miles beyond Mr. Crafts, fully armed and without the squaws and little ones. Mr. Lawson has ordered them all off to some reservation and they do not want to go. The agent has called troops from the upper country and trouble is feared. A few days ago, when Mr. Lawson was visiting the *rancheria*, they attacked him, and if it had not been for Captain Juan [Monongo] the interpreter, they would have used him up.

A week later the *Press* was most apologetic to Mr. Lawson, and printed his explanation of the affair, quoting him as saying:

The discontent is confined to a small faction of desert Indians; and the real trouble with them is that they cannot get their usual supply of



SERRANO CHIEF MANUEL



CAHUILLA CHIEF CABEZON

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

liquor, on account of Captain John's vigilant supervision . . . These trumped-up charges were only made now in the midst of a vigorous prosecution of liquor sellers, though John has been with them over a year without any complaint being made . . .

The agent may have been mistaken in assuming that the antagonism was wholly a trumped-up affair growing out of Captain John's part in cutting off the liquor supply. It may have grown also from unsatisfactory business transactions, as the Indians claimed; for some time later, in 1883, at a meeting of the Indians of the Coachella Valley attended by Chief Cabazón and all his captains, complaint was made to a special agent there to the effect that Captain John had taken advantage of them in a wood-cutting contract he had made for them. Just why Mr. Lawson had been pulled into the matter is hard to see.

Being an Indian agent was often a trying business. It seems that the Indians once refused to take supplies furnished by Mr. Lawson, and concerning this he reported:

I learned afterward that the reason they refused was that certain white men had told them that the agent had put strychnine into the flour and wanted to kill them all. Added to the above lying report was another that the agent had gone to Los Angeles to get soldiers. This caused them to stampede to the *Potrero*, when they could otherwise have gone about their work. Congregated there, and fearing that they would be assaulted — though they themselves had not the remotest idea of disturbing anybody — the news at once spread that they were preparing to make war upon this settlement . . .

Mr. Lawson closed this explanation by stating that he, in company with John Brown and Judge H. M. Willis, visited the *Potrero* and found that everything had quieted down. In fact, the Indians were feasting on the supplies that had been represented as poisoned.

This may have been the occasion referred to in his report where he told how a failure of water for irrigation had caused extreme need. On applying to the Indian Department, it had promptly authorized the purchase of \$500.00 worth of supplies for them, the first time in the history of the desert Indians (Lawson

says) that the government had contributed to their relief. He added:

Supplies of flour, meat, beans, and bacon were purchased last fall and issued to them during the winter months when little or no labor could be found. The low rate at which I purchased them made the amount expended go farther toward relieving all who needed help.

The winter of 1879 had brought a disastrous freeze, and many activities that white farmers would otherwise have carried on were omitted, thus adding to the already distressing unemployment.

The Indian excitement in this year was a serious matter to a few of the Lugonia residents who were uncertain as to the real situation. Mrs. Brink, for example, had just begun teaching in the Lugonia school and in writing years later of her pioneer experiences, said:

Just once danger came within imagining distance . . . When our Indians sent their squaws to the mountains, and many strange husky Indians appeared in our neighborhood, we began to be thoughtful. Some of our neighbors found it a convenient time to visit friends in town, and there was some quiet discussion among us. I was teaching in Lugonia then, our schoolhouse being situated in a quiet vacant area with only one dwelling at all near. One day about a dozen bucks came galloping, shouting, and flourishing weapons as they did in rabbit hunts. They circled the schoolhouse several times, and some of the girls began to cry. I said, "Don't let them think anyone is afraid, 'Let's sing'." And sing we did, some gay song that sounded as if we enjoyed their antics. After a final whoop and flourish, they went away laughing . . .

These Indians, at one time under the influence of Missions San Gabriel, San Luis Rey, and even San Diego, as stated earlier, had never been regarded as potential enemies. The only serious Indian troubles with white settlers in the valley had been those with the wild tribes of the Mojave Desert in 1866-67, as already described. But now, Frank E. Brown with E. G. Judson operated a fruit dryer near the junction of what are today East Third Street and the road across the Santa Ana wash from East Highlands to Redlands. The Brown home was the dwelling Mrs. Brink referred to as the only one near the Lugonia school. Mr. Brown had as a regular employee an Indian named Jesus, who received information concerning the movements and intentions of the excited Indians and passed it on to his employer. As he reported it, the situation was alarming.

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

Uneasiness was felt in the East Highlands region also. Captain A. M. Aplin, a Civil War veteran, lived on an isolated tract on Plunge Creek and managed the Brown-Judson fruit dryer. Acting on information received from Brown, Mr. Aplin, although not a man to be easily frightened, hastened to his home, gathered a wagonload of essentials for living, abandoned his home after hiding some of the cherished belongings in the brush along the creek, and moved his family down to the fruit dryer where four or five other families also gathered. Uncle Tommy Cook and the Weaver family, residents of what is now East Highlands, were there. With the women and children in safety, the men patrolled the surrounding country. An account of this affair was written recently by Mr. Aplin's son, Donald, a resident of Highland proper. He says that his eldest brother, Ben, and Lincoln Weaver, Schuyler Ingram, and Frank Brown's youngest brother, Brainerd, had been impressed by tales they read of Indian scalplings; and in the desire to save their own scalps walked the ten miles to San Bernardino and had their pates shaved entirely bare.

Uncle Tommy Cook showed some of his fighting gold-days spirit when, in one of the conferences at the fruit dryer, he proposed that they go into town and hang the Indian agent. Chief Manuel, one of the Serranos from the *ranchería* above Highland, although well along in years, went to the home of Lewis F. Cram near the fruit dryer and informed him that there was going to be trouble but that Mr. Cram need not worry, for his family would not be molested. Mr. Cram had always got on well with the Indians, and Manuel had worked for him. As a matter of fact, many of the ranchers were friendly toward the Indians and regretted the proposed removal to a reservation, as it would then be more difficult to secure them as laborers than it was when they lived here and there in the valley. But it does not appear that any formal protest was made.

Rumors similar to those that had appeared in the *Riverside Press* already quoted were evidently circulated about San Bernardino also, for on September 13 the *Times* said:

A great deal of excitement is manifested by the citizens of Cram

District, by fears of an attack by Indians, and many persons living in the outlying portions of the valley are bringing their families into town . . . Near as we can learn, the facts of the case are that the Indians have become dissatisfied with Captain John Morongo on account of a bad business transaction in which he himself was a loser, but he is accused by them of swindling them. All efforts to explain the matter satisfactorily to them have failed, and they have deposed him [as far as they were concerned] and have elevated another Indian to his position. Mr. Lawson has threatened to arrest any of them who are concerned in making trouble, and insists on keeping Captain Morongo as their captain . . . Messrs. Cram, Aplin, Brown, and several other gentlemen were in town today, and desire to lay the matter before our citizens and consult with them as to the best course to pursue under the circumstances.

In his *Memoirs*, Mr. Beattie says of the matter:

Our family in Lugonia knew nothing of this alarm until it was over. We were busy at home, and no word of it reached us. When, however, a mass meeting was held at the courthouse in San Bernardino to hear reports from the Indian agent, I attended it. Prominent citizens such as William A. Conn, Colonel Tolles, Lewis F. Cram, Captain C. W. C. Rowell and others, took part in the discussion. But the excitement had quieted down somewhat by this time, and there were even persons who not only had seen no cause for alarm, but had derived considerable amusement from the movements of "the grand army of the *Potrero*."

If we may be pardoned for digressing and indulging in somewhat of repetition at this point, we will insert some comments found in the Elliott *History of San Bernardino County*, published in 1883:

The agency for the Mission Indians was established in August 1878, with Col. (sic) S. S. Lawson as agent. Since his arrival there has been a marked improvement in the condition of the Indians . . .

Six or eight schools have been established in the agency, one of which is located in this county — at the *Potrero*. Miss Annie Lawson has been teaching the school over a year, and finds much to encourage her to continue the work. Some of the children read in the second and third readers, and in arithmetic show some advancement.

The agent does not interfere unnecessarily with the authority of the Indian chiefs or captains, of which they are very tenacious. They have their own laws and customs, and an Indian culprit will submit peaceably to any punishment his tribe may inflict, notwithstanding that he is aware that he could escape by an appeal to the white authorities. When

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

the question was asked Captain John, the Indian interpreter, how they would enforce a fine of \$30.00 on another Indian, he asserted with great emphasis, "He must pay it, it's the law," and seemed very indignant that any should think that it would not be enforced.

The obtaining of reliable information regarding details of Agent Lawson's term of service is made extremely difficult by the fact that the records relating to those days were collected and stored for many years at the Soboba Indian Reservation, and were partially if not largely destroyed in a fire there in the late 1940's.

The Mission Agent today, whose headquarters are in Riverside, can therefore tell nothing of Mr. Lawson or his work beyond what appears in his annual reports to Washington; and one must depend mainly upon what appeared in newspapers at that time, and what persons living then remember and have passed down. What records remained after the Soboba fire were sent to Sacramento; and a recent letter from the acting director of the Sacramento Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs states that all old mission records have, within the past year, been transferred to Federal Record Centers in San Francisco and Wilmington. Any possible remains of the records from Soboba would most naturally go to this later record-center, and a search through them might furnish details regarding Mr. Lawson's term of service.

Fortunately, regarding the powerful Cahuilla Chief, Cabezón, there is information dating back as far as 1845, when Benjamin D. Wilson, at the request of Governor Pío Pico, went on a campaign into Cabezón's territory to capture some renegade Indians who had mingled with the Cahuillas and were inciting them to misdeeds. Cabezón's contacts with white men in the 1850's are well known. He appears again in the reports of 1873, when Special Agent J. C. Ames said of him:

A messenger was dispatched to summon Cabezón and his captains to meet me at the *Potrero* in the San Gorgonio Pass . . . The venerable old man supposed to be upwards of ninety years of age, arrived about noon of the day designated, at the head of a company of horsemen in single file heralded by a marshall in uniform who announced the approach of the chief with much pomp and noise . . . This aged chief is in many respects a remarkable man. He is venerated by all his people, over whom

he has long exercised a powerful influence, and always in the interests of peace and good will toward the whites . . . Through his influence the tribe has been kept from allying itself with the tribes on the Colorado River for the purpose of making war on the whites . . . The mind shudders at the contemplation of what would probably have been the results to the inhabitants of San Bernardino County had Cabezón and his tribe assumed a different attitude . . .

In writing of Cabezón many years afterward, Mrs. Brink said:

I had been told to show greatest kindness and respect to a visitor who would probably appear soon, Cabezón . . . the oldest chief in California . . . They told me that he would appear in clothes given him by white men and would seem grotesque, that his Indian pride would not permit him to show that he understood Spanish or English, and that all communications would be done by signs. But to remember that he had been a faithful friend to his white brothers, and had been peacemaker between them and his tribe, had made them allies of the whites, and had prevented one massacre. He was sensitive to manner, so they told me these things so that I might appreciate him.

I looked up one day when the door was darkened, and there stood what would have been a figure of fun if I had not been admonished to try to see the chief beneath his disguise. Such a disguise! With a face like a shriveled walnut meat, with his shrunken body clad in the discarded overalls of a large man, shirt to match, coat and vest of fine broadcloth, much worn, and crowning all, a frayed topper, or stovepipe hat, adorned by a red ribbon. His dim pathetic eyes and tired voice were all that reminded me of his heroism. I remembered suggestions, and piled upon a plate as good a dinner as I could manage. He ate it under the inadequate shade of our largest tree, then lay down there for the usual *siesta*. When he returned the dishes I gave him two very gay ribbon sashes which had been part of our boys' costumes when they wore dresses (very stylish we had thought them). His wrinkled face smiled when he took them, and he bowed dignifiedly with a sort of military hand-flourish, tied the brightest around his hat and the other around his neck, and walked away as if wearing a war bonnet. He seemed two inches taller. That was my first meeting with Cabezón. We saw him often after that, and were always glad to welcome him.

Mrs. Brink continues:

The last time I saw Cabezón was at a conference with an Indian agent at "Crafton Retreat." [This would seem to have been Agent Lawson.] The Indians were seated in a semi-circle on the south side of Mill Creek Zanja, the agent and the interpreter facing them. The spectators

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

were on the bridge or under the nearest of two pepper trees . . . The conference began with a ceremonial smoke . . . The ceremony was conducted with care that the light should not go out, and they sat in silence until the last had finished smoking. Then the agent rose, made his offer from the government to the Indians in English, and the Indian interpreter translated it into Cahuilla (I suppose) for Cabezón would never admit that he understood any other language. The proposal was to move these Indians to the *Potrero*, southeast of the San Bernardino Valley, leaving the lands they occupied but did not legally own [according to American ideas] for the development of other interests. He promised a much larger tract of land, seeds to plant it, houses, blankets, hunting, range, and so forth.

When he had finished, after a long pause, Cabezón rose. He seemed transformed as he stood erect and with glowing eye and deepened voice recounted the history of his people since the "white brothers" came. With unmistakable eloquence he faced his people and told them all this from mountain to mountain — was once theirs to ride, to hunt, to live as they chose. Then the "white brother" come, and we make glad, tell him to hunt, ride. He say "Give me a little for my own," so we move little way, not hunt there, then some more come, and say "move more," and we move again. So many times! Now we are small people, we have little place; but they say move to new place, away from white friends, go from our home valley. With deep feeling he swayed, pointing toward the regions that had been theirs. Once or twice he murmured and the interpreter repeated "I know not. I know not." Through the rest of the meeting he sat, the picture of sadness but did not speak again. The plans for transferring our Indians to the *Potrero* were carried out, and one of the pleasantest and most picturesque features of the new country vanished. Many of us missed these gentle people who worked for us as children might — not very efficiently, but willingly and happily, pleased with small gifts, grateful for kindness, and charmed by the smallest courtesy.

As to the promises made at this conference in the name of the government, a similar offer and similar promises had been made by Dr. O. M. Wozencraft, then a United States Indian Commissioner in California, in a treaty with the Cahuilla nation, in 1858, a treaty which was never ratified by Congress and never fulfilled. The treaty included the Indians of Agua Caliente (Warner's Ranch), Temechula, and other localities. In it the United States agreed to set aside for the exclusive use of the Indians a tract of land about forty miles long and thirty miles wide between San Gorgonio and Warner's, and to supply certain equipment to establish them on

that location. The Indians, on their part, agreed never to claim any lands other than those specified in the treaty. They doubtless did not realize that failure to ratify the treaty rendered it worthless. Indeed, it may be questioned whether or not they knew what a Congressional ratification was, and they remembered that promises then made had not been kept. Cabezón may well have had this in mind during his address at the Crafton conference, which would seem to have been one of Agent Lawson's early ones with the Indians.

Speaking of Cabezón as a powerful chief, Kroeber, the great authority on California Indians, says that a Cahuilla chief seemed to be such principally through the possession of property. He was always regarded as the richest person in the community. At ceremonies and gatherings he supplied food for the assemblage. A Mojave chieftainship seemed to be dependent more upon valor, and not necessarily inherited.

In one of his earlier reports, Agent Lawson stated that certain Indians were receiving only fifty cents a day, and that in goods; but in his report of 1881 he has them receiving \$1.00 and \$1.50 a day, in case. As then liquor was hard to obtain, the situation generally was greatly improved. In his 1882 report he stated that during the year past, thirty plows, thirty sets of plow harness, and sixty plantation hoes had been supplied; also, five wagons, one to each five villages. This equipment was proving invaluable.

Despite the devotion of the teachers in the schools, Mr. Lawson was finding day sessions unsatisfactory, since English and other subjects taught them were only too often counterbalanced by influences in the homes. He pressed the need for two large boarding schools, one in the northern and the other in the southern part of his district, where pupils would be away from native village and camp life. If he had been able to note the effect of such schools, he might have found them unconsciously weaning pupils from their home life, as they sometimes do in our present days.

His reports followed a general pattern, probably as a result of being sent questionnaires to fill out. One notes considerable repetition in them. However, his later ones showed that he considered the

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

old superstitious customs to be largely dying out; the medicine men to have lost much of their power as the value of the agency doctor came to be recognized; venereal disease nearly wiped out, although the cooperation of the Indians in this had been none too hearty. Hospitals were sorely needed, and the courts still did not punish liquor sellers sufficiently. The leading United States judge in San Francisco was prone to dismiss such cases as "trivial offenses."

His report of August 13, 1883, was his last one, and just why he left the Mission Indian service does not appear. His successor, J. G. McCullum, assumed his duties October 1, 1883, evidently having had some opportunity to talk over the duties and difficulties of the job before Mr. Lawson left.

As already stated, the United States Government had long been aware of the unhappy condition of its Indian population, in Southern California as elsewhere. Efforts to aid them in the early 1870's had been unsuccessful. An attempt had been made to withdraw land on which Indians had been living from entry as public lands, but designing persons prevented it. Surveys made were faulty. Those made in 1876, most of them still in force in 1883 were laid off by guess by a San Diego surveyor on an imperfect map. They were reported by the commissioner to the Interior Department in Washington, and they were set aside by Executive Order, and the lands were surveyed again. The second survey showed that most of the Indian villages were outside the survey lines, and land was continually taken from them.

The Indian Commissioner, in his annual report for 1883 says:

The situation of these people is peculiar. It is probable that they are entitled to all the rights and immunities of citizens of the United States by virtue of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, yet from poverty and ignorance, and unwillingness to abandon their custom of dwelling together in villages under a tribal or village government, they have failed to secure individual titles to their lands under the public land laws or the Homestead Act. (This was the Act of 1862.)

Agent McCullum's reports follow the same general pattern as those of Mr. Lawson. He reports the aged chief Cabezón as dying in

1883, and speaks of him as certainly over one hundred twenty-six years of age. One may be forgiven for questioning this. Indians do not always know how old they are. However, in that dry desert climate they did seem to reach a great age very often, and some of them today are credited with being more than a century old, much more sometimes.

Whether or not Agent McCullum belonged to the Lutheran religious denomination to which Southern Californina Indians had earlier been assigned does not appear in the records. He must have become dissatisfied with the position, for he resigned August 22, 1885, complaining of the conditions under which he had to live and work. Salaries were utterly inadequate, Governmental demands were intricate and trying, and the Indian service lost many of its best agents for these reasons. Authorities in Washington were remiss in provisions made for both Indians and agents. Mr. Lawson reported once that even elderly Indians sustained themselves by labor, no subsistence being granted except as aid to sick, infirm, or destitute persons, and such aid did not amount to much more than \$100.00 a year. It is a satisfaction today to know that aged and dependent Indians are now eligible for old-age pensions just as white persons are.

Mr. McCullum reported that the Indians were living in about twenty villages in his district, generally on reservations. The nearest was about thirty miles, and the most remote about one hundred miles, by road, from San Bernardino. He could hardly have been thinking of Indians as far south as San Diego County. He thought that about one in fifty spoke English, and most of them were Catholic in their religious leanings, as a result of Spanish mission teachings prior to the American regime. The older Indians especially spoke considerable Spanish. As stated early in these pages, the mass of the native population, probably about two-thirds, lived in San

Indians of San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity

Diego County, many on Colorado Desert tracts. Imperial and Riverside Counties were not then formed.

In these pages we have gone only as far as the 1880's. Reports from Indian agents from then on to the present reveal comparatively few great changes in the situation. More and better schools exist, naturally, and Indians who have had more education have a keener grasp of what Americanism means. However, the head of the Indian Bureau in Washington in his report for 1948 speaks regretfully of many defects in the handling of Indian affairs today that are only too similar to those Helen Hunt Jackson denounced three-score and ten years ago.

In a recent conversation with an Indian woman from the tiny, barren San Manuel reservation north of Highland, she extended her arms in a gesture to include all of the San Bernardino Valley and remarked, "One time, this all ours." Fortunately, providentially, the Indian men there no longer have to hunt and trap small game in the vicinity for food, but find ample remunerative employment in the orange groves below them, and many of the Indian women also find work they can do. The population once numbered one hundred or more, but we are told that today it is between thirty-five and forty, with nearly half of it children. The mortality among Indian children has decreased greatly, thanks to instruction in hygiene and sanitation given in the public schools, and to help furnished by medical clinics, P.T.A. groups, and others. The youths no longer fall early victims to tuberculosis as so many once did.

It is regrettable that one of their fine Indian handcrafts is in danger of disappearing. The baskets the women used to make are becoming increasingly scarce. The older women are dying and the younger women are not willing to spend the time necessary when the completed article brings so little financial payment. This seems to be equally true of Cahuillan women. And speaking of the latter

people, it is regrettable that more persons are not familiar with desert flora and fauna, beyond the few specimens to be seen when driving over the highways. For example, Dr. David P. Barrows, in his monograph entitled *The Ethno-Botany of the Cahuillan Peoples*, many years ago listed and described the flora and fauna of their land after a considerable period of residence and study among them. Few persons realize the number and variety of these desert plants, and the knowledge Indians have of important medicinal properties they possess. Such studies are of very great interest and value, and should be more widely known.



Renaming Los Angeles

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

In 1827, Los Angeles narrowly escaped a change of name. It might have been called Santa Maria, or more likely, Victoria.

The official name of Los Angeles, of course, was *El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora la Reina de Los Angeles*. It was then called *El Pueblo* for short. Mexican officials complained that *El Pueblo* was too often confused with *Puebla de Los Angeles*, capital of the Mexican state of Puebla.

Many argued that Santa Maria should be added to the original name, since Santa Maria was *Our Lady, Queen of the Angels*, and the town should be called Santa Maria for short.

A change of name to *Villa Victoria de la Reina de Los Angeles* was finally formally proposed. The plan being to call it Victoria for short. At the same time a proposal was made changing the name of California to Montezuma.

However, the whole proposition got into a pigeon-hole in Mexico and was forgotten.

— Willard, Charles Dwight, *The History of Los Angeles*. Kingsley, Barnes & Neuner Co., Los Angeles, 1901.

Phineas Banning: *Intrepid Pioneer*

By Marco R. Newmark



PHINEAS BANNING was born on Oak Farm, near Wilmington, Delaware, on August 19, 1830. Early in life he manifested that gift for initiative and force of character which distinguished him throughout his career. At the age of thirteen he left home and went to Philadelphia, walking the entire distance. He worked there for eight years, first in a law office conducted by his brother and then as a clerk in a wholesale establishment.

In 1851, he obtained a position as assistant to a merchant who was returning to his home in Chihuahua, Mexico. When the boat arrived at San Diego the merchant was arrested for debt, the boat was seized and Banning was out of a job. Nothing daunted, he came to San Pedro, where soon after his arrival, he joined David W. Alexander in the transportation business, the title of the firm being Banning and Alexander.

On November 15, 1854, Banning married Rebecca Sanford. She bore him eight children. Five died in childhood. Those who grew to maturity were William, Joseph and Hancock.

Earlier in 1853, there occurred an incident which may be worthy of relating for the reason that it somewhat reflects Banning's personality.

In that year, while Harris Newmark was stopping in New York, on the way from his native Germany to Los Angeles, a friend of his older brother, Joseph P. Newmark, who emigrated to the City of the Angeles in 1851, provided him with a letter to Banning asking that gentleman to help him safely on his way to Los Angeles. When he presented the letter, Banning digested its contents, looked him over from head to foot, shook hands and in a stentorian voice called out: "*Wie Gehts.*"

Thus started a friendship which lasted until the death of the older man.

In 1857 Banning purchased from members of the Dominguez family a tract of land at the head of a slough, not quite four miles northeast of San Pedro. In 1858 he decided to found a little community on this land, and to get it started, he presented building lots to a number friends. He named the settlement New San Pedro, (the name of which, in 1859, was changed to Wilmington). On October 1, 1858, passengers and freight were landed for the first time at New San Pedro, at a little wharf Banning had constructed, an event which was attended by a party of enthusiastic excursionists who had come from Los Angeles for the occasion.

At about the time the name Wilmington was adopted, Banning's partnership with Alexander was dissolved, and Banning established the Wilmington Transportation Company. His stages carried passengers from San Pedro and Wilmington to Los Angeles; his freight wagons hauled merchandise to Los Angeles; to mining camps in the North; to Yuma, Arizona, and to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and, in addition, he owned a fleet of freight schooners which he used for trading with Salt Lake City.

Little wonder that he became known as the Transportation King.

During the eighteen-fifties Banning joined the Rangers, a volunteer mounted police company which had been organized to cope with a dangerous crime wave rampant during that period. Not only did he go with his fellow members in pursuit of hardened criminals but he also supplied them with horses.

Among the citizens who served with him were such distinguished pioneers as Dr. Alexander W. Hope; Charles L. Ducommun; John G. Downey, Governor of California in 1860 and 1861; John G. Nichols, Mayor of Los Angeles in 1852; Stephen C. Foster, Mayor in 1854; Augustin Olvera; Matthew Keller; Judge Benjamin Hayes; Juan Sepulveda; Judge Isaac S. K. Agier; David W. Alexander; Judge J. Lancaster Brent; and Horace Bell, author of *Reminiscences of a Ranger*.

Phineas Banning: Intrepid Pioneer

In 1859, as the result of a severe storm which damaged the wharf at San Pedro, Banning transferred the headquarters of his business activities to Wilmington. At this period, before any improvements had been started in the harbor, the water close to shore was too shallow for large vessels to approach the wharf. To overcome this difficulty Banning bought five small steamers to which passengers and freight were transferred for conveyance to their destination. He named these steamers *Comet*, *Crickett*, *Clara*, *Los Angeles* and *Ada Hancock*.

This mention recalls one of the most lamentable tragedies in the history of Southern California:

On April 27, 1862, while the *Ada Hancock* was engaged in transferring north-bound passengers to the *Senator*, the boiler exploded. A few of the passengers escaped with minor injuries, among whom, in spite of the fact that he was blown over twenty feet into the air, was Banning himself. However, twenty-six people were killed, among them being Dr. Henry R. Miles, Thomas H. Workman, Albert Sidney Johnson, Jr., William T. B. Stanford, Louis Schlesinger, and the captains of both vessels — Thomas W. Seeley, of the *Senator* and Joseph Bryant, of the *Ada Hancock*.

In addition to his business interests in Wilmington, Banning had eight hundred acres of land on which he cultivated grain and fruit. On this land he sank and equipped the largest well in the county. Attached to it was a large pump by which the water was pumped to a reservoir (the walls of which, incidentally, are still standing) and thence distributed to San Pedro and Wilmington and delivered to boats in the harbor.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, during which, by the way, Banning was commissioned Commander of the First Brigade of California Militia, the authorities in Washington decided to establish a headquarters in Southern California. Both Los Angeles and Wilmington strove to be chosen. Gen. Winfield S. Hancock wielded his influence in behalf of Wilmington and this decided the issue.

The government bought two acres of land from Banning and Benjamin D. Wilson and thereon established Headquarters of the

Union Army, Department of the Southwest, whose jurisdiction covered Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

The headquarters was named Drum Barracks in honor of Gen. Richard C. Drum who was the commandant for several years. The barracks consisted of buildings for the officers and the enlisted men, and for their families. A number of distinguished officers were stationed there at different times, among whom, in addition to Gen. Drum, were Generals Philip H. Sheridan, Winfield S. Hancock and Lt. William B. Hunt, first husband of Helen Hunt Jackson.

In 1864, Banning built on his land a large, three-story, colonial style mansion. Here, he gave his famous dinners, which he called *Regales*. His guests included United States Senators, members of the lower house, governors, army officers and civic and business leaders.

Major Benjamin C. Truman commented on one of the dinners in the Los Angeles *Star*, of which he was editor from October 1, 1873, until July, 1877, as follows:

"No man in the state ever gave such dinners. The General is the most regal entertainer California has ever known. And he added: "Phineas Banning spent more than a quarter of a million dollars for the delectation of others."

Another account of one of the famous dinners appears in the Los Angeles *Morning Herald* on August 19, 1879:

Today our genial military friend, Phineas Banning, celebrated his, we'll say, thirty-fifth birthday (it was his forty-ninth). He is in a charming state of preservation and bids fair to live fifty-five years yet. By the way, he was for years the King Pin of Los Angeles County and it is difficult to say how much this section has been indebted to him.

We wish the gallant and handsome general many happy returns of the day.

The general's mansion is probably the most commodious and home-like building in Los Angeles County and its host is famous for the unstinted liberality with which he entertains.

The flow of champagne and other wines is as full in volume and as unceasing as that of the Isar rolling rapidly.

Numerous toasts were drunk and that of "Our Host" particularly with great impressment.



PHINEAS BANNING



THE OLD PHINEAS BANNING RESIDENCE

Banning Park, Wilmington, California

Phineas Banning: Intrepid Pioneer

When the Pioneer Oil Company, California's first, was organized in the early part of February, 1865, General Banning was elected to be its president. However, he was too busy with his manifold interests to accept public office, with one exception, he served as state senator, 1865 - 1867.

About the middle of February, 1861, Assemblymen Abel Stearns and Judge Murray Morrison learned of the desire of some eastern capitalists to build a railroad between San Pedro and Los Angeles. General Banning joined forces with them to persuade the legislature to grant a franchise for the project. Their efforts were successful. On May 17, the legislature did grant a franchise but because of public opposition the plan came to naught as did similar attempts in 1865 and 1866.

However, the three men did not become discouraged. They developed an educational program designed to convince the citizens of the advantages the proposed railroad would bring to this section. The campaign had the desired effect. In 1868 the legislature passed a bill authorizing the city to issue bonds up to \$50,000 and the county to issue bonds up to \$75,000 for the building of a railroad from Los Angeles to San Pedro, and in the two ensuing bond elections, although a still unconverted minority voted against the bonds, the majority voted for them, and on October 26, 1869, the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad was opened. (In 1876 it was absorbed by the Southern Pacific.)

On February 14, 1870, Banning married a second time, his bride being Miss Mary Hollister. His first wife having died on January 7, 1863.

Harris Newmark, who was living in New York in 1868, relates a romantic incident which occurred during the courtship of Miss Hollister.

One day, in the spring of that year, he received the following letter:

Dear Harris:

Herewith I enclose to you a letter of the greatest importance addressed to Miss Mary Hollister (daughter, as you know, of Col. Joseph Hollister) who will soon be on her way to New York, and who may be expected to arrive by the next steamer.

This letter I beg you to deliver to Miss Hollister personally immediately upon her arrival in New York, thereby obliging.

Yours obediently,

(Signed) Phineas Banning

Newmark arranged with the agent of the company to be informed as soon as the steamer was sighted. When he received the notice he went to the dock, boarded the vessel, sought out Miss Hollister, "a charming lady," and handed her the letter.

Later in the year, after Newmark returned to Los Angeles, Banning told him that the "important letter" had been a proposal of marriage.

Banning had three daughters by his second wife. One died in infancy; the others were Mary Hollister Banning, and Lucy Tichnor Banning.

In 1871, Banning made one of the most important contributions toward the progress of Southern California. In that year Congressman Sherman O. Houghton introduced a bill for an improvement of San Pedro harbor. It provided for the construction of a breakwater between Rattlesnake Island, the name of which was changed in 1891 to Terminal Island, and Dead Man's Island, which was razed in 1925 for the widening of the channel. While the bill was under consideration, Banning, at his own expense, made a trip to Washington to urge its adoption. Benjamin D. Wilson also went to the Capital on the same mission, and their combined influence was a material factor in the campaign which brought about its passage.

Phineas Banning: Intrepid Pioneer

After the passing, on August, 7, 1925, of the general's son, Hancock Banning, who was the last member of the family to reside on the ancestral estate, the City Council of Los Angeles, responding to a petition from the people of Wilmington, passed an ordinance establishing a bond district for acquisition of the Banning homestead and authorizing a bond issue to finance the undertaking. The bond issue was approved by the people at a special election, and the house and the twenty acres of land on which it was located (all of the original eight hundred that had not been sold) were turned over to the city of Los Angeles, the transaction of the deed is dated June 21, 1927.

By way of explanation, it should be stated that in 1909 a campaign was inaugurated to consolidate Los Angeles, San Pedro and Wilmington, by way of the "Shoe String Strip" (a piece of land which connects the latter two with Los Angeles). Elections were held in Los Angeles and Wilmington on August 5 and in Los Angeles and San Pedro on August 12, 1927. Majorities in the three cities voted favorably. Thus were the two coast cities consolidated with Los Angeles and so came under its administrative jurisdiction.

The Wilmington Chamber of Commerce was asked to recommend a name for the former Banning possession, and at its suggestion Banning Park was adopted. The park was placed under the management of the Los Angeles Park Department, which by a charter amendment adopted on April 1, 1947, was consolidated with the Los Angeles Recreation Department into the Recreation and Parks Department, of which George Hjelte, an outstanding recreationist of national reputation, is the general manager. The park is open every day without charge, while for a small fee which is put in the maintenance fund, one may visit the house which is open only on Sundays from 1:30 p. m. until 4 p. m.

As one enters the ancient driveway to the beautiful home, a

spreading eucalyptus tree, that was grown from seed imported from Australia can be seen on the right. It is said to be the first eucalyptus ever grown in Southern California.

Around the grounds are a number of well-kept lawns and an abundance of trees and bushes of many varieties. In the garden, to the right of the house is a large grass-covered mound, the origin of which is of interest. In 1888, Joseph Brent Banning, a son of Phineas Banning, and his young bride, were living in the ancestral home. One day Mrs. Banning complained that the surrounding ground was too flat, and to satisfy her, her husband and his brother, Captain William Banning, had the mound put in.

To the rear of the house is what is designated as the formal garden. In it are grown in profusion many domestic and exotic trees, plants and bushes; and startling in its loveliness, is a giant blue wisteria vine planted many years ago from seed imported from China.

Behind the garden is the stable and coach house. Here, on display, is an interesting collection of vehicles remindful of the olden days — a fringe-topped surrey, a pony cart, a brougham, a concord buggy, two fire hose carts and a stage coach which once did service in the Wilmington Transportation Company. This stage coach is said to be the only one of its kind in California.

Upon entering the house the visitor sees the drawing room; the antiquated furniture; the family portraits looking down from the wall; the library with its commodious fireplace, and the dining room "distinguished by paneled woodwork and a massive side-board."

On the upper floors are the bedrooms, the beds resplendent with florally decorated pillow shams and coverlets, and, interesting to a later generation, are the gaily ornamented washbowl, pitcher

Phineas Banning: Intrepid Pioneer

sets and other indispensable appurtenances of the households of a former day.

Next, proceeding on his way, the visitor enters the *sanctum sanctorum*, Banning's combined bedroom and study, in which are still to be seen his roll-top desk, his book cases, his terrestrial globe and last but not least a safe which once belonged to Gov. Pio Pico.

Often Banning climbed to the third floor, whence he mounted the steps to the cupola, which, in fact, was a four-windowed lookout from which, armed with a spy glass, he was wont to watch his men working in the fields or to scan the bay searching for vessels that might perchance have anchored in the roadstead to await one of the little steamers assigned to the mission of bringing its passengers and freight to the wharf.

Descending to the basement, one finds the old laundry and kitchen, and a large hall which is now used for meetings and dances.

It should be added that the Recreation and Parks Department has installed on the grounds, picnic facilities, a baseball field, a children's play area, a tennis court and a club house.

In 1857, Banning gave the people of Wilmington five acres of land just northeast of and adjacent to the park, on which to establish a cemetery, on condition that the proceeds never be used except for maintenance and improvements, a condition which has always been faithfully observed.

Later five acres were added to the cemetery and on the ten acres there are now some four thousand graves.

Phineas Banning, to whose initiative, foresight, tireless energy and indomitable courage Southern California is so greatly indebted, passed away in San Francisco, after a lingering illness, on March 8, 1885.

He was interred in the Wilmington Cemetery, but on June 20, 1887, his remains were removed to Rosedale Cemetery, at the request of his wife who now rests beside him.

AUTHORS NOTE

Many of the facts in the biographical sketch of Phineas Banning were gleaned from an unpublished typed pamphlet copyrighted by Walter E. Holstein, M. A., in 1935, entitled:

A HISTORY OF WILMINGTON FROM THE SPANISH PERIOD TO 1931

I am also indebted to Harlan D. Willie, of Wilmington, who supplied me with most of the information about Banning Park.



Humor of Don Pena

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

Don Cosme Pena, who served as *prefect* of the southern district of California during part of Governor Alvarado's administration, obviously had a sense of humor. The people of Los Angeles were giving him a bad time. They were in a condition of "chronic tumult." In his letters to the Governor concerning his troubles, he continually called the city by its antonym, Los Diablos.

— Willard, Charles Dwight, *The History of Los Angeles*.
Kingsley, Barnes & Neuner Co., Los Angeles, 1901.
Page 169.


From Boulder to the Gulf

By Margaret Romer, M. A.

(Continued from the June QUARTERLY)

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FLOODS, 1905-1906

 IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND the conditions that caused the floods, it is necessary to give a moment's attention to the geography of the region. The Colorado River flows in a general southerly direction, while the Alamo and New Rivers, only a few miles west of the Colorado, flow in a northerly direction. The reason for this apparent contradiction in the nature of things is that the land through which the two smaller rivers flow is the bed of the old Salton Sink. It is separated from the Colorado by a low range of hills and slopes to the north. The lowest point now holds the Salton Sea, the surface of which is some 250 feet below sea level. The Colorado flows on the very rim of the valley.

In 1903 the Government denied the valley the use of the waters of the Colorado River. Mr. A. H. Heber had influential friends in Congress, and he made a noble and desperate fight for the rights of the people of the valley. In the session of 1903-04, he caused a bill to be introduced which admitted that the Colorado was more valuable for irrigation than for navigation. The Reclamation Service opposed the bill. Finally a committee composed of House members and reclamation officials made a brief visit to the valley and returned an adverse report. The result was that Congress refused the people of the valley the use of waters of the Colorado River.

In June of 1904, Mr. Heber entered into a contract with President Diaz of Mexico whereby the California Development Company might make use of the Colorado's water through Mexico, where the United States had no jurisdiction, the only condition being that in case of a shortage, Mexico could retain half the water if it was needed for her own soil. The Mexican Congress ratified the contract. It was also necessary to cut a new intake somewhere along the course of the river, because the first four miles of the main channel had become so coated with silt it was impossible to supply the necessary amount of water to the 10,000 settlers of the valley. This silt might have been removed, but the new cut was the quicker and cheaper way.

Accordingly, the Mexican intake, fifty feet in width, was cut under the direction of Engineer Rockwood in October, 1904. The water was low, and it was not expected to rise before the early part of the summer. This would allow plenty of time to construct a permanent gate and thus close the gap before flood time.

The Mexican government was exceedingly slow in ratifying the plans for the permanent gate. Its approval was necessary, hence haste was urged. The desired sanction, however, did not come for a whole year, or until December of 1905.

In February, 1905, there came an unexpected flood. When it had subsided, it left the intake so silted up that it had to be dredged again in order to get enough water through it to supply the valley's needs. A second flood produced the same result. The *Imperial Valley Press* stated editorially that a single day's supply of water for the Imperial Valley contained enough sediment to build a levee twenty feet high, twenty feet wide and a mile long. In view of these facts, fear of the floods diminished. It was not until the third flood of the season, in March, that the engineers realized that they were facing an unusual season and therefore decided to close the gap immediately.

Consequently, a dam of piles, brush, and sandbags was thrown across the gap. It was just completed when another flood came and washed it away. A second dam was built and promptly shared the

From Boulder to the Gulf

same fate. This last flood widened the gap from 60 to 160 feet. Water was overflowing the banks of the main canal and running in a hundred streams to the lowest part of the sink. Here it was accumulating and forming the new Salton Sea.

The danger was now keenly appreciated by Messrs. Rockwood, Perry, and their associates, but they were powerless to cope with the situation for lack of money. To meet the urgent need, they appealed to the Southern Pacific Railroad for a loan of \$200,000. This loan was granted by E. H. Harriman against the advice of his counselors. It was agreed that the Southern Pacific was to have control of 51% of the Company's stock until the loan was repaid and have the right to appoint three of its directors, one of whom was to act as president of the Company. Mr. Epes Randolph of Tucson, later connected with the Pacific Electric Company in Los Angeles, was appointed president.

Mr. Randolph made a personal investigation and telegraphed Mr. Harriman that it might cost three-quarters of a million to save the valley. Mr. Harriman wired back directions to proceed.

Mr. Rockwood then attempted to divert the stream to the east side of the island opposite the gap by means of a jetty. This method proved unsuccessful and had to be abandoned.

The Southern Pacific Company next, under the direction of their engineer, E. S. Edinger, put in a 600-foot dam of piling, brush mattresses, and sand bags, at a cost of \$60,000. This dam was built in October and November. On November 29-30 came a tremendous flood which increased the flow of water from 12,000 to 115,000 cubic feet per second. The new dam was washed out completely. Scarcely a vestige of it was to be seen. Also the northern part of the island was washed away. This terrific flood widened the gap to 600 feet. Most of the river went tearing through it in a mad rush for the Salton Sea, which already had an area of 150 square miles. If this continued, the valley would again be, as it had been in the past, at the bottom of the lake.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty that the engineers had to face was that of supplying the necessary water to the inhabitants while

the engineering work was in progress. They dared not cut off the water supply while they were closing the gap.

A method of control was suggested by Engineer Rockwood, namely to construct a permanent steel and concrete gate at Pilot Knob, where a solid rock foundation could be secured, and dredge out the four miles of silted canal. Then, when the water was low, most of it could be run through this gate and channel, leaving the lower gap dry enough to construct a permanent dam or levee there. This could be done before the next high water was expected.

Mr. Rockwood also planned to build a new headgate on the northern side of the intake and divert the entire river around the gap via a by-pass, while it was being permanently closed. The chief objection to this plan was that it would necessarily be of wood on a silt foundation and might be undermined.

In November Mr. Randolph decided to try both plans, working on them simultaneously. Contracts for the structural iron and steel work for the concrete gate were let in Los Angeles. Machinery for an 850-ton floating dredge, the *Delta*, was ordered in San Francisco. Work was pushed hard throughout the winter. The steel and concrete headgate was not completed until June 28. The *Delta*, owing to the San Francisco earthquake disaster, was not ready for work until the following November.

Work on the Rockwood gate continued day and night with alternate shifts. It was completed on the 18th of April, the very day of the great earthquake and fire at San Francisco. Mr. Harriman rushed to the scene of the tragedy. The next day the maddest flood of all came tearing down the Colorado. It was far beyond the capacity of the newly completed dam, washing it out as if it were so much kindling! The river was like an angry monster that would not be bound by human fetters. The crevasse was ever widening and the whole Colorado poured through it at the rate of 4,000,000,000 cubic feet per day.

Mr. Rockwood's disappointment must have been of the keenest suffering, for it was not lack of knowledge that made his work fail, but the ever present lack of capital with which to operate. Never-

From Boulder to the Gulf

theless, he resigned, and Mr. H. T. Cory, Mr. Randolph's assistant, was put in absolute control.

In June came another flood that widened the gap to over half-a-mile. The whole river was running into the valley, leaving the channel to the gulf dry. Once in the valley, the river spread to a width of eight to ten miles. Then it divided into separate streams that ran into the Salton Sea. Thousands of acres of crops were drowned and thousands of acres were so badly eroded that the land could never again be cultivated. The works of the New Liverpool Salt Company were under sixty feet of water.

At the height of the flood, 75,000 cubic feet of water poured through the gap every second, or 6,000,000,000 cubic feet every twenty-four hours. Salton Sea rose at the rate of seven inches per day and soon covered an area of 400 square miles. The main line of the Southern Pacific Railroad had to be removed to higher ground five times that season.

The "cutting back" was the most dangerous feature of the flood. The lower stratum of soil was badly cracked. All the soil was soft silt, and when the water washed against the lower stratum in its cracked condition, it washed out like powdered sugar, causing the upper strata to collapse. This "cutting back" action worked upstream at the rate of 1,500 to 4,000 feet per day, leaving behind it a deep, ever-widening gorge. The channel remains today a silent evidence of the great floods. It varies in depth from fifty to eighty feet, has an average width of 1,000 feet, and is more than 40 miles long. The amount of soil thus gouged out was nearly four times as much as the total digging for the Panama Canal.

It was imperative that this "cutting back" be stopped, for, if it were allowed to continue, it would soon cut into the canals of the irrigation system. This would send all the irrigating water down the Alamo and New Rivers and thus ruin the entire system. Also it would cut off the water supply for the 12,000 settlers, who were absolutely dependent upon it. There was more danger that people would be driven out of the valley for want of drinking water than there was that they would be drowned out.

The towns of Calexico and Mexicali were directly in the path that the river was cutting back. Could they be saved? Engineer Perry directed the building of a levee six feet high around the river side of the town. Every man, woman, and child worked until exhausted filling bags with sand, earth, or anything available. Every shovel in town was in use, even saucepans were used for the purpose. Every horse and mule in the vicinity was put to work on the levee. This work continued for forty-eight feverish, anguishing hours. No one slept except from exhaustion. No one thought of removing his clothing.

Would the dike hold? The fate of two cities depended upon it. Now and then it would break through somewhere and the water would pour in on the town. With a scream and a dash, the whole force of workers would turn their energies to the new break. Every household in town brought out its bedding, mattresses and everything that would be useful to stuff into the breaks.

Mr. Perry was on duty the whole time directing the work. It took the strength of a mighty man to endure that strain, but he was equal to the emergency.

There was a row of stately cottonwood trees along one side of the company offices, that had been tenderly raised and were highly prized. Now, in this supreme struggle, these trees had to give their lives to help save the town. Under Mr. Perry's direction, they were hewn down and suspended by chains in the river channel, that the angry waters might beat against them and thus spare the bank on the Calexico side of the river. The noble trees did their work well. They saved that bank.

As if there were not already enough to contend with, a mad wind was racing across the valley. This added greatly to the difficulty of the fight, for it blew out the lanterns and drowned men's voices when they tried to shout orders or call for help.

The company hastily constructed an office tent on stilts back away from the flood. The company safe was moved to the new "office," and all valuable papers were taken there for security. The

From Boulder to the Gulf

Southern Pacific depot was on the river side of the levee; hence, in order to save it, it was hastily taken down in sections and moved to higher ground.

Everything on the river side of the dike went floating down the stream. The water tank went out the first night, leaving the town without its supply of pure water. The irrigation water was so laden with sediment that it was the color of chocolate, hence it could not be used.

At last, after the second horrible night, the flood began to subside. When the waters had fallen to a safe level, all Calxico slept from sheer exhaustion.

The next morning smiled down on a much relieved town on one side of the levee and on desolation on the other side. Mr. Perry's brains, plus everyone's strength, energy, and courage, saved Calxico. West of the levee, as far as the eye could see, was one vast expanse of water. People constructed flat boats and barges on which to travel about.

Here and there a high place showed itself in the form of an island on which were crowded whole families who had taken refuge on the highest spots they could find. This situation was more common on the Mexican than on the American side of the boundary. Rescue work was promptly begun, but it was very slow and exceedingly dangerous since the current was so swift and there were so many impediments in the river. The rescue boats frequently became entangled in the tree tops and were lost. It took several days and hundreds of unrecorded deeds of bravery to save all the people from the waters of the flood.

The flood waters covered about 6,000 acres, while some 13,000 more were ruined by erosion in side canyons. When the new channel was gouged out, the waters from both sides made a mad rush for the new lower level, leaving devastation in their paths.


The Inter-California Railroad to Yuma had been built as far as Cocopah. This was completely under water. The official crossing from the United States to Mexico had previously been at the foot

of Imperial Avenue. This land was all washed away. It was fortunate indeed that the crossing had, in 1904, been moved to the foot of Heber Avenue.

As rapidly as possible, Calexico repaired its damages. The actual loss in the town amounted to about \$15,000. Mexicali suffered to the extent of about \$75,000.

CHAPTER XXIV

CLOSING THE GAP

HE WHOLE COLORADO, however, was still flowing down the channel of New River and had yet to be turned back into its old course. There was little in recorded history to help the engineers in their gigantic task. Most floods had merely been overflows, but this was an entirely new problem. This was a roaring river that had changed its course and was rushing madly into an ancient basin below sea level. Three hundred million cubic feet of water ever hour were rushing down a 400-foot slope, through easily eroded soil into a basin about the size of Long Island Sound.

This situation was so new that the engineers had nothing upon which to base their opinions. They all disagreed. About the only point upon which they were agreed was that something had to be done at once.

The Southern Pacific engineers, then in control of the situation, decided to construct a dam of rock instead of pilings, brush and sand bags. They quickly constructed a railroad from their main line to the break, for the purpose of hauling rocks and other materials. They next requisitioned from the Union Pacific Company 300 "battleships." These were mammoth side-dump cars that had been used in the construction of the Lucin cut-off across Great Salt Lake. They had a capacity of fifty to sixty tons each. The California Development Company had three light draught steamers and a number of barges that were used on the river. The Southern Pacific furnished work trains and gathered rock, gravel, and other materials including 1,100 ninety-foot piles, 19,000 feet of heavy

From Boulder to the Gulf

timber for railway trestles, and 40 miles of steel cable used in the weaving of brush mattresses. The Southern Pacific furnished pile drivers and steam shovels, also many engineers, mechanics, and workmen. This resulted in efficiency and speed.

The greatest difficulty was in obtaining common labor. It was impossible to secure enough Mexicans, so Indian tribes were organized and used. These with their families constituted a separate camp of about 2,000 souls. The rest of the laborers were Mexicans and American adventurers. The whole vicinity was put under martial law with a military commandant to police the camps.

Active work began August 6, 1906. The summer floods were then subsiding. First, a woven brush mattress was made in twenty days and nights by two shifts of men. It was made of baling wire, steel cable and 2,000 cords of brush. A total of 13,000 square feet of this mattress was made. It covered the bottom of the gap to the width of 100 feet, double thickness. Its purpose was to serve as a foundation for the rock fillings. Next, a railway trestle ten feet wide was built across the crevasse. On the 14th of September, trains of "battleships" began running across it and dumping rock onto the mattress at the bottom of the stream.

In the meantime, the Rockwood by-pass and headgate were completed. By October 10, only one-tenth of the flow of water was still going over the rock dam. But the Rockwood dam was showing signs of weakness. In the afternoon of October 11, it gave way and went floating down the stream. The by-pass then became the main river. The top of the Southern Pacific dam was left dry. The dam that went out had cost \$122,000 and four months of labor.

Now the Southern Pacific went to work clearing out and enlarging the four miles of silted-up canal, since the steel and concrete gate above it was ready for use. It might now be opened and thus handle part of the water through the ditches, while another attempt was being made to close both the Rockwood by-pass and the original gap. Operations were pushed night and day. A thousand men and 700 horses and mules were at work. It was planned to construct another rock dam on another brush mattress in the by-pass also, as

this type held best. Levees connected the two dams, making a continuous barrier one-half mile long. They extended it to both sides as well.

On November 4, the lower Mexican intake was completely closed. The trouble seemed over and all seemed well. There was rejoicing throughout the valley.

On December 7, another sudden flood came tearing down the Gila, a branch of the Colorado. A reconstructed earthen dam further to the south went out! The break was at first small, but it widened so rapidly that in three days the whole river was pouring through it and again rushing into the valley. This demanded immediate action. It also proved that in order to adequately protect the valley, a higher, stronger and more massive levee would have to be built on the west side of the river for a distance of at least twenty miles.

The Southern Pacific Company felt that it had done its share. It had already spent over a million and a half, and its financial interests in the valley would not justify further expenditure.

The United States Government would be the principal loser if the valley were to be lost. The land taken up by the settlers was still legally in the possession of the Government, pending a correct survey. Besides, if the river were not controlled, it would eventually destroy, not only the Imperial Valley, but the Laguna Dam, which was a project of the United States Government to the north. Also, if uncontrolled, the Colorado would cut for itself a gorge from which it would be impossible to draw water for irrigation. The total potentially fertile land that would thus be rendered barren, was more than 2,000 square miles, or enough to support a quarter of a million people.

For these reasons, therefore, the Southern Pacific called upon the United States Government for aid for the valley. Theodore Roosevelt was President at that time. The Southern Pacific offered the Government the use of its tracks, trains, quarries, laborers, and everything it had in the way of equipment; but it considered that the Government should pay for the work, since the cost would run

From Boulder to the Gulf

into millions. The California Development Company also offered all it had to aid in the work.

Congress had just adjourned for the holidays. The Government could not proceed without the authority from Congress nor without arrangements with the Mexican Government. All this time the river was pouring into the valley, but the water was not alarmingly high and was running more or less peacefully down the Alamo and New River channels. All would be well until the next flood came. The gap must be closed before that should occur.

President Roosevelt placed the responsibility on the California Development Company and demanded immediate action by that company. In the meantime he agreed to try to bring about permanent action on the part of the Government. The California Development Company was powerless to meet the situation for lack of money, so the Southern Pacific again came to the rescue. Mr. Harriman telegraphed to President Roosevelt that the Southern Pacific would proceed to meet the emergency trusting that the Government would assist as soon as it could get action.

The river-fighting crew and equipment were still intact; therefore, on December 20, 1906, when the order was given, all the resources of the Southern Pacific were thrown into the work of controlling the river. The crevasse was then 1,100 feet wide and had a maximum depth of 40 feet. The whole river was pouring through the new gap. There was no time to build another brush mattress.

The plan next adopted was to build two railroad trestles over the gap and to have 1,000 flat cars and "battleships" of rock ready all at once and to dump rock faster than it could possibly be carried away by the stream or swallowed by the silt. Three times the piles were torn out and went floating down the stream and three times the trestles were partly or wholly destroyed. On the 27th of January the first trestle was finished for the fourth time, and the rock dumping process began again.

Men worked night and day with feverish haste. Not a moment was lost. A thousand cars of rock were on the scene and were dumped as fast as they could be "placed" on the trestle. In order to

save time, the rocks that were too large to handle were broken on the cars in transit by "pop-shots." This consisted of dynamite so placed as to split the rocks. The roar of the mad waters, the "pop-shots," the shouts of the men, all combined to furnish the excitement that spurred the men on to their maximum speed. Two unknown Mexican laborers gave their lives to the cause. They fell from the trestle into the roaring torrent below.

Once in the water, the rocks settled and rolled down the stream. All this had to be overcome by more dumping. Lastly, small stones and gravel were dumped to fill the places between the big rocks.

The crevasse was finally closed and the river unwillingly forced back into its old channel on February 10, 1907. This was fifty-two days after Roosevelt was asked to help and fifteen days after the first load of rock was dumped from the first completed trestle. The work had to be done fast or it would have been lost. It was a question of dumping rock faster than the river could carry it away.

The Southern Pacific also built twelve miles of levees along the west side of the river with a railroad track on top so it could immediately send material to any part of it in case of weakness or a break. Also, they constructed a second levee to the west of the first, to impound the waters in case of a break in the first levee.

The additional cost was approximately \$1,600,000. The total expenditure by the Southern Pacific was \$3,100,000. The work was done thoroughly. It stood the test of many a flood and held. The engineers who directed the final closure and the building of the levees were Messrs. Epes Randolph, H. T. Cory, "Tom" Hinds and Mr. Clark.

Two novels have their setting in the Imperial Valley. Both deal with the early days and both use the floods for the climax. The better known of these is *THE WINNING OF BARBARA WORTH*, written by Harold Bell Wright.

Mr. Wright was a preacher in the Ozark county and was poor both in money and in health. Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Holt of the valley were also from the Ozark country and were good friends of

From Boulder to the Gulf

Mr. and Mrs. Wright. Mr. Holt had made a financial success in the new country and urged his friend to come here also, thinking that the dry climate would do him good. Mr. and Mrs. Wright made the move, Mr. Holt giving them considerable assistance. Mr. Wright started the ranch now known as the "Wright Place," between El Centro and Holtville. He made a financial success while regaining his health.

Out of appreciation, Mr. Wright wrote *THE WINNING OF BARBARA WORTH*. He idealized his friend Mr. Holt in the character of Mr. Worth. Mr. Holt's daughter was made the heroine but was not actually found on the desert, as the story goes. The successful lover and the hero who closed the gap was Mr. H. T. Cory, while Mr. Rockwood was represented as the Seer. The novel is in no sense a history, although it follows, in a general way, the trend of events in the valley.

The other novel is *THE RIVER*, by Edna Aiken. Its scenes are laid in Calexico and at the gap in the bank of the Colorado River. The book was written to idealize Mr. Cory, much to the indignation of Mr. Rockwood's friends. While not historically accurate, the book gives a very true representation of early life, customs, and conditions in the town of Calexico in the early days. Mr. Cory is idealized in the leading part as "Rickard." Mr. Rockwood is cruelly and unjustly characterized as the unsuccessful engineer called, in the story, "Tom Hardin." The other characters are all taken from life.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PALO VERDE VALLEY



IN THE CALIFORNIA SIDE of the Colorado River, just across from old Ehrenberg, lies the Palo Verde Valley; and the story of its development is no less dramatic than that of the Imperial Valley.

William Calloway came to the region in the 1870's to do a piece of surveying work for a road between Yuma and San Diego.

When the job was finished, he went up the river to the Palo Verde Valley and was impressed with its possibilities for development. But it takes money to turn a desert valley into a garden. So Mr. Calloway went to San Francisco in search of a man who could change his dream into a reality. There he found a young capitalist named Thomas Blythe who undertook the project.

Blythe filed with the State, a claim for 40,000 acres under the Swamp and Overflow Act, and also on a right to enough water from the Colorado to irrigate the entire valley, as well as some of the land on the first mesa.

Work was actually begun in 1877, but did not progress very far. Scarcely was it well under way, when Mr. Calloway was killed. But Mr. George Irish, his associate, carried on. Mr. Blythe visited the valley and was most enthusiastic concerning its progress. But shortly thereafter he died suddenly from a "stroke" of paralysis. This marked the end of the first attempt to develop that valley, and the beginning of a long, drawn out litigation over the ownership of the land.

In 1904 Florence Blythe established her claim to the property and sold it to a syndicate³⁰¹ but in the meantime settlers were coming into the valley and developing farms on what they believed to be Government land. They managed their own irrigation and levees and looked to Uncle Sam for their land titles.

Then the syndicate came in and claimed the right to sell the land. Now, the Government had ceded all the "swamp and overflow" land to the State of California back in 1850. It was under this act that Blythe had originally filed his claim. Now that the levees were built and the land no longer overflowed, the Government claimed the right to dispose of it as homesteads. The farmers who were in the valley ahead of the syndicate naturally sided with their Uncle Sam, and refused to be ejected from the farms they had wrested from the desert.

These conflicting claims caused plenty of trouble in the valley. Innumerable fights resulted, in which the weapons were variously, words, fists, guns, and lawsuits. It was not until 1912 that the

From Boulder to the Gulf

courts cleared the titles to these farms by acknowledging the Government's claim to dispose of the land.

As early as 1902 the first school was established at the little settlement of Palo Verde in the south end of the valley. A year later the first post office was installed in Hodges Brothers store, and Ed Hodges was made the first postmaster.

In 1904 a school was started in the north end of the valley in the vicinity of the present town of Blythe. The school house, if such it could be called, was built of poles covered with arrow-weed; and gunny sacks covered the openings that were the door and windows. When the weather was cold, the school moved outdoors where the teacher could build a fire. Around this the children sat as they studied or recited their lessons. The arrow-weed school house also served as a church on Sundays.

Miss Ellen Decker (later Mrs. L. E. Norton) was the first teacher. This plucky girl got off the train at Indio and made the long trek to the valley by wagon against the advice of her friends, to serve in this remote outpost of civilization. The district was a huge one, extending from Indio to the Colorado River, a distance of about eighty miles east and west; and the width of Riverside county, more than forty miles, north and south. But most of this area was uninhabited, so the children did not have as far to come to school as the distances would seem to indicate.

There were only two roads into the valley at this time. The older of these was the one originally called the Bradshaw Road, from Dos Palms (later from Indio) to Prescott, by way of Ehrenberg. At this time, the picturesque old freight wagons drawn by a dozen to twenty horses and mules, were still plodding their way across the desert. The other road came in from the south and connected the valley with the Southern Pacific Railroad at Ogilby, northwest of Yuma. This road was used chiefly for hauling supplies for the settlers of Palo Verde and the south end of the valley, while the older road supplied the north end.

In 1904 a post office was established at Neighbors with J. E. Neighbors as its first postmaster. This office served the entire north

end of the valley for the next five years. At first the mail came in only once a week, then later twice, and by 1908, there were three deliveries a week.

About this time, the real development of the valley began. The town of Blythe was laid out on the old Bradshaw Road, and a school was provided for the children of the new settlement. The Palo Verde Mutual Water Company was formed among the settlers.³⁰²

The next decade was a period of great prosperity. Experiments were conducted with cotton and alfalfa. Both proved successful, and these became leading products of the basin. Bees were brought in, too, and were found to thrive there; so honey soon became another important crop.

In the meantime, the Santa Fé Railroad had taken over the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and the Southern Pacific from Mojave, California, to the Colorado River. In other words, the railroad that crossed our region on the thirty-fifth parallel had become the Santa Fé. In 1908 they completed a branch line from Cadiz Junction in San Bernardino County, California, to Wickenburg, Arizona. This road cut across the extreme north end of the valley forty miles above the new town of Blythe, and a station called Blythe Junction (now Rice) was established to connect with the town. After this, supplies could be sent by rail to this point and then be hauled by wagon only forty miles, instead of the long trek from Indio.

Only six miles from Blythe Junction was Brown's Well, the old homestead of Floyd and Jessie Brown, both of whom later achieved local prominence. The Browns dug their well by hand, 340 feet deep, hoisting the dirt out by means of a mule and a windlass. While this work was in progress, they had to haul their water from the Colorado River. Their well was completed in 1900. In 1911 Mrs. Brown started a store and cafe at Blythe Junction, and was affectionately known throughout the community as "Ma Brown."³⁰³

Had you lived at Blythe in its first decade you would have stood along the highway once each year to watch the autos roar

From Boulder to the Gulf

past at the breath-taking speed of perhaps thirty miles an hour, in the annual road race from Los Angeles to Phoenix. The highway at that time consisted of two ruts through the sand. Often twenty-five cars would leave Los Angeles in one of these races, and only three or four would limp into Phoenix. The average motorist of that day considered the journey from Blythe to Indio an all-day trip.

Old Ehrenberg, as those early auto racers saw it, had perhaps 100 *adobe* buildings left standing, most of which were vacant and in varying degrees of dilapidation. But the main saloon was still operating.

The completion of the Laguna Dam just above Yuma in 1907, practically put an end to that once thriving business — steamboat navigation on the Colorado. Similarly, the coming of the railroads ended that picturesque, though inefficient, method of hauling freight — the wagon train. So poor old Ehrenberg had nothing left to live for. One by one its families packed up their belongings and moved away. The Jesus Daniel family was the last to desert the old town.

Then the river, as if in an attempt to bury its dead, rose and washed away all but a half-dozen buildings. The same flood that buried Ehrenberg did the same friendly deed for the ruins of old La Paz. This was in 1911. Today nothing remains there to mark the spot but the remnant of an old hand-dug well.

Not only did the completion of the Laguna Dam mark the end of navigation, but also the beginning of serious flood troubles for the Palo Verde Valley. No one would believe that the construction of a dam would raise the level of the river seventy miles above — but it did. In 1909, one of the Colorado's famous, or infamous, floods came tearing through the canyons and spread its devastating waters over the lowlands.

In the Palo Verde Valley every farmer helped to man the dikes to protect the crops from the flood waters. Day after day the torrent poured past, rising always higher and higher against the protecting levees. And the higher the river rose, the harder men, women, and

horses worked to build the levees higher still. At last the waters began to subside. And lucky it was, for every living creature on the dikes, both humans and beasts, was exhausted. But the valley was saved. Twenty-five million, three hundred thousand acre-feet of water roared past Blythe that year.³⁰⁴

The following year there was no flood but — strange paradox — the river rose even higher against the levees.

Nineteen hundred eleven was another flood year, but the crops were again saved by the same brave efforts of the settlers as two years before.

But the next year during a period of low water when the river was not suspected of depredations, it overtopped the dikes and partially flooded the valley. Year after year the water rose higher along the levees. Several times the dikes were raised in an effort to keep the river in bounds.

In 1917 the worst flood of all came tearing down the Colorado. The people of the valley put up a herculean fight against the river. Day and night they struggled, both man and beast. Everything else in the valley stopped. Nothing mattered but the saving of the towns and farms. But in spite of almost superhuman efforts, the water overflowed the levees and flooded the valley, drowning crops and stock.

After this, the people sent Mr. Chester Allison to Washington to appeal for Federal aid. He carried with him proofs that the river bed had risen seven to eight feet since 1909, and that it had not risen an inch below the Laguna Dam. The Government sent an engineer to investigate, and Federal aid was granted.

However, the work was barely begun when Yuma County issued a restraining order. But the river would not wait for the case to be fought out in the legal courts of puny mankind. It began cutting west just two miles below the Blythe intake.

Because of the pending legal decision, the Government would not give aid at this time. The people of the valley were not even permitted, legally, to spend their own money on the work of

From Boulder to the Gulf

straightening the river. But the stream was threatening to cut into their main canal and thus to ruin their entire irrigation system. Should the people of the valley sit idle and allow this to happen? Not pioneers! They organized and went over into Arizona and did the necessary straightening work themselves. But in so doing, a lot of Arizona land came on the west, or California, side of the river. This brought the people of the valley into conflict both with Arizona and with Uncle Sam.

The Federal Government sent an investigator who went over the whole matter thoroughly. He found the valley people legally in the wrong, but morally right; he reprimanded them with this comment: "Any red-blooded man will fight for his home. There was nothing else you could do. But damn you! Don't ever do it again!"³⁰⁵

In 1914 the Palo Verde Valley Union High School was started just east of Blythe.

A year later, construction was begun on a branch railroad, known as the California Southern, to connect Blythe Junction on the Santa Fé with the valley, terminating at the new town of Ripley. The route was surveyed by G. L. Rice and the little town of Blythe Junction changed its name to Rice in his honor.³⁰⁶

And immediately Ripley began to "boom." A \$200,000 hotel was built, besides stores and a newspaper plant. Rannalls too, began to flourish about this time. It boasted a hotel, a store and post-office, and a two-room school. But the careers of both these towns were terminated by another flood that was soon to visit the valley.

Meanwhile, things were happening in the point of Nevada. In 1905, steel rails were creeping along the old "Spanish Trail" between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. The last spike was driven at Jean, Nevada, about twenty miles from the California line, on January 30. On June 2, regular passenger service began on the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad.

The Stewart family sold the old Las Vegas ranch to the railroad

that same year. A townsite was surveyed and lots were sold at auction; and so began the modern town of Las Vegas.³⁰⁷

Four years later, the southern part of Lincoln County was cut off, and Clark County was created. It was named in honor of Senator William A. Clark, of Montana, who was instrumental in getting the railroad through the region.³⁰⁸

(To be concluded in the December QUARTERLY)

NOTES

- 301. The *Palo Verde Times*, June 7, 1934.
- 302. *Ibid.*
- 303. Letter from Daisy E. Platt of Rice, California, to Margaret Romer, July 27, 1935.
- 304. *Palo Verde Times*, June 7, 1934.
- 305. *Ibid.*
- 306. Letter from Daisy E. Platt to Margaret Romer. Rice, July 27, 1935.
- 307. Schrugham, *Nevada*. 590-591.
- 308. *Ibid.*, 440.



Port of San Pedro

Submitted by MARGARET ROMER

San Pedro was first recognized as a port in 1826, and provision was made for the collection of revenues. Previous to that date, practically all business done between Los Angeles and the ocean was smuggling — not that the smuggling stopped on that date either!

— Willard, Charles Dwight, *The History of Los Angeles*. Kingsley, Barnes & Neuner Co., Los Angeles, 1901. Page 174.

Book Reviews

By The Staff

SANTA ANA — *A Narrative of Yesterday*. By Charles D. Swanner. Saunders Press, Claremont, California, 1953. Pp 157. Photographic illustrations. \$3.95.

The birth of Santa Ana in the year 1869 came about when the pioneer William H. Spurgeon trampled down the dry mustard stalks while crudely surveying a main street, while passengers aboard the Los Angeles to San Diego Stage looked on his activities. Soon there followed other streets which were still there, though many of the old buildings may be gone. In 1883 the city of Santa Ana was incorporated; in 1900 the Santa Fé came to town. "Main Street" grew and many numbered streets crossed it, and Fourth and Main Streets became the center of the community. Here in this book are assembled incidents and events that went into its making. The period goes into 1910 when Santa Ana becomes "Tomorrow" instead of yesterday. — A.B.P.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE CALIFORNIAS — *Spanish and Mexican Periods*. By Philip S. Rush, publisher of the *Southern California Rancher*. Typography, Walter A. Stanley Co., San Diego; Neyenesch Printers, Inc., San Diego, 1953. Pp. 95, maps, illustrations, index.

This book is a very concise publication, giving in detail the story of the beginning and founding of Spanish California. During the transition Mexican period, the Californians of that day welcomed the coming of the Americans as the Mexican Micheltorena and his plundering Militia were insufferable.

Many illustrations in this book are new to the reader and add a great deal of authenticity. Mr. Bush has done a commendable work in compiling this data from his magazine, *The Southern California Rancher*, thus preserving the San Diego regional history. The author merits a vote of thanks from all lovers of California history for his diligent research. — A.B.P.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE HOPIS — *Portrait of a Desert People*. By Walter Collins O'Kane. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1953. Pp. 267. Twenty-four photographs in color by the author. \$5.00.

This volume is number thirty-five in the Civilization of the American Indian Series. It is compiled by Walter Collins O'Kane who holds a position at the University of New Hampshire department of entomology and also the New Hampshire department of agriculture. Many years ago the author became interested in the Hopis while on a visit to their desert home. So he writes as their friend bringing colorful word pictures to mind along with photographs of these people, men and women. Some young, some old. All picturesque.

Ancient traditions and customs live today with the Hopi. They have maintained through the centuries a most interesting and striking culture. They seldom intermarry and their isolation geographically has helped them to preserve their beliefs and ways of many years. But gradually, if slowly, they are beginning to absorb the ways of the white man. World Wars and Government projects have done much to forward this, along with the growing school attendance of Hopi children.

This is a readable volume filled with the story of the Hopi. Little incidents and rituals are told alike with the love of one who understands his Redskin brother. The author calls his friends by name, so that the reader feels their nearness and realness. As though he, too, has been on a visit to the Hopi country. — A.L.C.F.

PANORAMA — *A Pictorial History of Southern California*. By W. W. Robinson; issued as a complimentary token by the Title Insurance and Trust Company on their Sixtieth Anniversary.

This book of colored illustrations and short descriptive paragraphs takes the reader through the history of our State from 1769 to the present, with particular emphasis on Southern California. —

A.B.P.



Current Happenings

CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATION

On July 1, 1953, the term of Mayor Fletcher Bowron came to an end after more than fifteen years as mayor. His successor, Norris Poulson, was sworn in as Mayor on that day.

Mayor Poulson was born in Oregon 57 years ago. He attended Oregon Agricultural College; came to Los Angeles in 1923 and served two terms in the California Legislature. He was for five terms a member of Congress. When he resigned prior to taking office as Mayor of Los Angeles, he was a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and chairman of its subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation. He is married and has three daughters and five grandchildren.

FORT MOORE MEMORIAL

Ground breaking for the Fort Moore Memorial was held on July 13th.

It is planned to have four agencies contribute to the financing of construction of this memorial — the Board of Water and Power Commissioners, the County of Los Angeles, the City of Los Angeles and the Los Angeles City Board of Education.

Historic Fort Moore was constructed under General Kearney's orders, and was completed by July 4, 1847 — its dedication on that day marking the first recognition of Independence Day in the *Pueblo* of Los Angeles. It is named for Captain Benjamin D. Moore of the First United States Dragoons, who fell in the Battle of San Pasqual. Col. Stevenson, in a proclamation issued on that day, said of Moore, "He was a perfect specimen of an American officer, whose character for every virtue and accomplishment that adorns a gentleman was only equaled by the reputation he had acquired in the field for his gallantry as an officer and a soldier."

Activities of the Society

SEPTEMBER 24, 1953

First Century Families annual party was held at the Statler Hotel. In attendance were many directors and members of the *Historical Society of Southern California*.

Director W. W. Robinson was the speaker of the day. His topic was Rancho San Pedro and the kin and descendants of the Grantee Don José Juan Dominguez. After him, this grant passed on to Don Cristabal and his children. Most fortunate son was Don Manuel Dominguez, then to his six daughters who followed traditions and now to the many descendants of these illustrious Hispano-Californian founders who cherish their fortune.

Secretary Ana Begue de Packman of the *Historical Society of Southern California* was hostess at the history curators table. Those present were Director Delacour of the Los Angeles County Museum; Librarian Carey Bliss of the Huntington Library; Miss Althea Warren, Instructor in the Library School of the University of Southern California. Mr. Wilbur Smith, Curator of the Special Collections Department of the University of California at Los Angeles; Mr. Justin Turner, past president of the National Manuscript Society; Miss Mary Helen Peterson, director of the California Department of the Los Angeles Public Library; Mr. John Henderson, Los Angeles County Librarian; Dr. and Mrs. Frederick H. Hodge, director of the Southwest Museum. Many valuable bits of intimate history were gleaned by the group at our table for our archives.

MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1953

The meeting was called to order by President John C. Austin who then reminisced on the old Los Angeles High School off Temple

Activities of the Society

Street. He said that many of the landmarks have disappeared. Many of the street names have been changed and that today Temple, a name most proud in our history, is in jeopardy. He requested all members of the *Historical Society of Southern California* to rally in the Council chambers to protest against the change of Temple Street to Civic Center Boulevard. On October 10, 1859, the honorable body of the City Council dedicated Temple Street in honor of the New Englander "Juan" Temple who served so well the city of Los Angeles, the home of his adoption.

Director Oscar Lawlor told the story of the Pico House — "the most glamorous hotel on the coast." The swanky hotel first opened its doors in 1870, boasting of the only bathrooms in the city. It hosted many illustrious people and Mr. Lawlor urged that the Pico House be saved as an historical landmark.

Miss Mary Foy, much revered native daughter and the first woman City Librarian, then told of her happy childhood in Los Angeles. On her trips to "grandmother's house" she traveled from Third Street north on Main and, as she recalled, she would rest for a while on the old cannons that were ornaments in the street at the corner of Main and Commercial. From this vantage point, she remembered many happenings of six decades in Los Angeles.

Refreshments were served, with Mesdames J. Harvey McCarthy and John W. Phelps pouring at the coffee urns.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1953

On this day an historic record was preserved for vigorous protests were heeded by the Los Angeles City Council. Thus "Temple Street stays Temple Street."

The Landmarks Committee and many members of the *Historical Society of Southern California* were present to protest the change of the historic name of Temple Street. Their spokesman was Mr. Orville Harrell who recited three pertinent points to present the Society's stand against the changing of the name to Civic Center Boulevard. First, he stated, that changing the name would not bring

property value nor added travel. The street must be justified by its natural position or by the development its owners gave it. Not by name. Second, he contended that not alone do the property owners on Temple Street have a claim to the street, but that two million residents and taxpayers have a stake in that historic name — that Temple Street was established one hundred years ago and that generations have had part in its building and growth. And finally Mr. Harrell asked if London would change the name of Thread Needle Street or Number Ten Downing for the whim of a few? There are things which become a part of the past and so have a value beyond all money reckoning. For example: Boston Commons — Mount Vernon. It cost millions to rebuild Williamsburg, but it can never be the same had the original buildings not remained. Natchez is rich in what it has retained. New Orleans would never be so foolish as to erase its famous Vieux Carre, the old French Quarter, So not only does all of New Orleans have a claim to it, but all of the U. S. A.



Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making an especial effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Every member of the Society has some historic article that would be welcomed, and THE QUARTERLY sincerely hopes that the names of all our members will be recorded from time to time in the gift column.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

* * *

MISS ROSA AGUIRRE: The donor is a granddaughter of Captain Don Jose Antonio Aguirre. Gift of a silk fringed *reboza* of the Spanish-Mexican ladies. Although this beautiful stole is over a hundred years old, the colors of blue, silver and lilac are still warm and vivid.

MR. BERT COCKS: Jubilee Program of the Temple Baptist Church, 1903-1953. Herein appears the story of this institution together with the many illustrations of people and landmarks of that day when it was founded.

HON. CHARLES E. HAAS: Publication, *Lawyers I have Known and Their Cases*, gleanings of twenty-five years on the Municipal and Superior Benches in Los Angeles.

MRS. J. HARVEY MCCARTHY: One gavel made from a piece of the historic ash tree which was planted by Governor Pio Pico at his mansion in El Ranchito (Whittier).

MRS. PETER McMANUS: Illustrated Publication, *Sixtieth Anniversary 1868-1928, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company of California*.

MR. FREDERICK W. WILSON: One set of photographs of the June Pilgrimage taken by the donor.

MR. MARCO R. NEWMARK: 1931 Fiesta celebration badges commemorating 160 years of the founding of San Gabriel Mission and 150 years of the founding of Los Angeles. A brochure entitled *The Works of Charles F. Lummis*, published by the Lummis Foundation. The booklet lists all the literary contributions of this most versatile writer.

MR. CHARLES PUCK: A photograph from the *Los Angeles Real Estate Adviser*, published from the Real Estate and Law Office of R. M. Widney in the "new" Downey Block, Los Angeles. Volume 1, January, 1871: advertising three lots at Fourth and Main 40 x 165 for \$1,000 each. (These

lots may well be the property on which now stands the Farmers and Merchants Bank.) Another item offers a house and lot on Main Street as a very desirable residence for \$5,500, with two and one-half acres near the round house bearing walnuts, oranges and lemons. Today this property sells by the square footage. Orpheum Program dated December 31, 1894, and January 1, 1895, bringing in a new year.

MR. ROBERT H. RAPHAEL, JR.: One abstract of title dated February 4, 1889. Surveyed March 1875 by L. Seebold for property at Naud Junction parcel lot I of Gerald Stacy and Charles Raphael. This is the wedge at Alameda bound by San Fernando Street and Downey Avenue. One photograph of Raphael's Pioneer Paint, Oils and Glass Supply Store at 115 North Main Street.

MR. AND MRS. FREDERIC C. RIPLEY: Two beautiful pressed glass stem cake dishes. These fifty year old dishes were given for use at the refreshment table where they may be viewed at each serving following the monthly meetings of our Society.

TITLE INSURANCE & TRUST COMPANY through MR. W. W. ROBINSON: One large unframed photograph of the historic Pico House.

MR. ROBERT TRIEST: The photostatic copy of the first directory of the Los Angeles Telephone Company dated April 13, 1882. The exchange numbered 106 subscribers at that date. The main office of the company was in the Baker Block and kept open night and day. The ringing of two bells called the Central Office. There were uniformed messengers on hand at all times to call non-subscribers to the main office to receive a message. The cost of this service was 25 cents. The railroad was one of the best customers since they used this service to call their engineers to duty. Among the descendants of some of these pioneers whose surnames appeared in that directory are listed in today's directory thus: Broderick, Coulters, Hellman, Kirkpatrick, M. D., Lindley, M. D., Lazard, McGinnis, Moore, Newmark, Rowan, and Workman. Business firms, listed today as then are: Coulter's Dry Goods Store, Capitol Mills, First National Bank, Germaine Fruit and Seed Company, Los Angeles Soap Company, Los Angeles Ice Company. While the Pico House, the Police Headquarters, Post Office, Southern Pacific Railroad and the University of Southern California also appear. This priceless memorial of two pages of subscribers of seventy-one years ago bears witness to the phenomenal growth of Los Angeles. Today's five sectional and classified directors weigh approximately twenty-five pounds of closely printed pages.

MR. JUSTIN G. TURNER: Brochure of the *Power to Evoke*, written by Dr. Lawrence Clark Powell, librarian of the University of California at Los Angeles.

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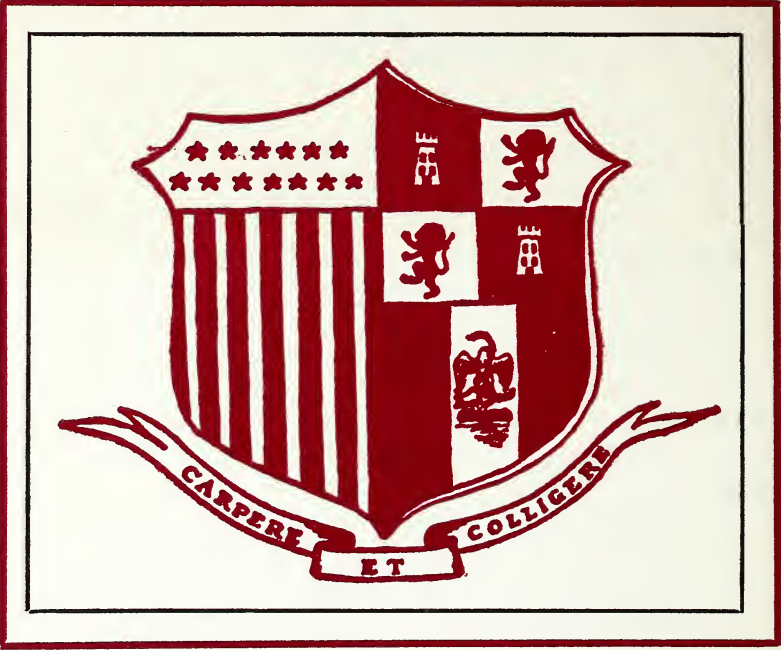
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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY

Contents for December, 1953

EARLY DAY LOS ANGELES:	
<i>A Great Wagon Train Center</i>	- - - 305
<i>By Frank Rolfe</i>	
THE PASADENA RAILWAY	- - - 319
<i>By Franklyn Hoyt</i>	
FREMONT ON ROCKY MOUNTAINS	- - 325
<i>By Phillip Rochlin</i>	
THE PICO HOUSE	- - - - 335
<i>By Oscar Lawler</i>	
THE DOMINQUEZ RANCHO	- - - 343
<i>By W. W. Robinson</i>	
DUCOMMUN AND SAN DIEGO	- - - 347
<i>By John E. Baur</i>	
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (Conclusion)	375
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS	- - - - 391
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY	- - - 393
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	- - - 394
INDEX TO VOLUME XXXV	- - - 397

Volume XXXV

Number 4



FOUNDED 1883



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was organized in 1883, and has enjoyed a record of continuous activity for over half a century. Commencing in 1886, and each year until 1935, the Society issued an Annual Publication. In 1935 this *Quarterly* was initiated. It is published at Los Angeles, California, each March, June, September and December.

The purposes of this Society are to preserve and protect the archives and historic sites of the Southwest, with particular stress on Southern California; to publish material of permanent historic interest and significance; to assist and encourage all persons and organizations engaged in similar activities; to hold regular monthly meetings in Los Angeles, except during the summer months, and at least once a year to gather in a pilgrimage to some spot of historic significance.

The Society welcomes to its membership all persons who are in sympathy with its aims. It derives its entire income from the dues and gifts of members, and all regular publications are offered to members without further charge.

It is the aim of the Editorial Board to render this *Quarterly* a publication of general historical interest. Suggestions and criticisms will be welcomed, and all persons, whether members of the Society or not, are invited to submit for the consideration of the editors original articles, old letters, documents, maps and other material bearing upon the history and development of this region.

* * * * *

Address articles, stories, books for review, and all material to appear in the *QUARTERLY*, and general Society correspondence to:

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The
Historical Society of Southern California

QUARTERLY



HOME OF THE
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The
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CONTENTS:

EARLY DAY LOS ANGELES:									
<i>A Great Wagon Train Center</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	305
<i>By Frank Rolfe</i>									
THE PASADENA RAILWAY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	319
<i>By Franklyn Hoyt</i>									
FREMONT ON ROCKY MOUNTAINS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	325
<i>By Phillip Rochlin</i>									
THE PICO HOUSE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	335
<i>By Oscar Lawler</i>									
THE DOMINQUEZ RANCHO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	343
<i>By W. W. Robinson</i>									
DUCOMMUN AND SAN DIEGO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	347
<i>By John E. Baur</i>									
FROM BOULDER TO THE GULF (Conclusion)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	375
<i>By Margaret Romer</i>									
BOOK REVIEWS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	391
ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	393
GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	394
INDEX TO VOLUME XXXV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	397

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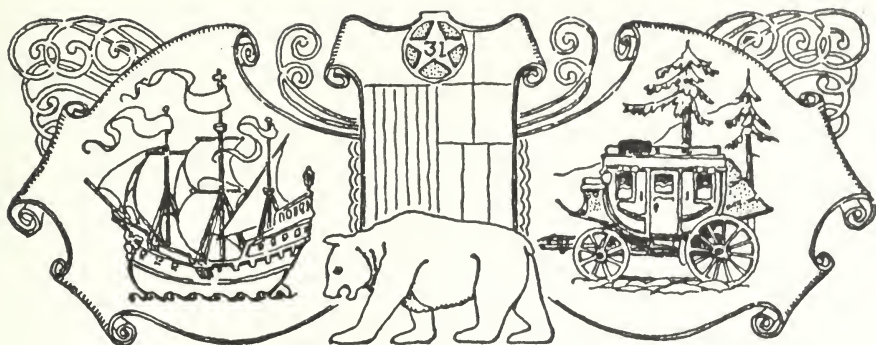
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The Historical Society of Southern California QUARTERLY for December, 1953

Early Day Los Angeles: *A Great Wagon Train Center*

By Frank Rolfe

WHEN THE SPANISH LEADERS located Los Angeles they properly gave most weight to the unusually good water supply afforded by the Los Angeles River, a never failing stream of good volume at this point. In addition the site was centrally located as to local plains and valleys. As the site was some twenty miles from its port at San Pedro, it was the crossing point for roads leading to numerous local passes — to the Tehachapi and Tejon gateways, leading to the great San Joaquin Valley; to the Cajon, leading northeast to Utah and the San Gorgonio and San Felipe on the way east — and southeast to Arizona and New Mexico. The coming city was thus destined by geography and man to become an important center for trade carried on by wagon trains.

The discovery of the Mother Lode gold fields of California in 1848, in connection with the extension of the territory of the United States to the Pacific as a result of the Mexican War, started a great rush of gold seekers to California during 1849 and the first years of the 1850's. Those who came by wagon trains, for the most part, came by the central route across Nevada. A large number however, starting late in the season and being warned of the deep winter snows of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras, turned southwest from Salt Lake or came by Santa Fé and southern Arizona to reach the gold fields by way of Los Angeles. They were the first real wagon trains to reach this city.

*Trade Between Los Angeles
and San Pedro*

The first spoked wheels to be seen in Los Angeles arrived a number of years before the American occupation. In *Two Years Before the Mast*¹ Dana, on the California Coast in 1853, speaks of a dozen pairs of cart-wheels as a part of the cargo of his vessel. In the *Centennial History*² mention is made of trains of ten carts used in hauling goods from San Pedro to Los Angeles in 1844. These carts were mongrel; a pair of cart wheels attached to the body of a *carreta*.

In an early Los Angeles paper³ an item appears with figures showing that Banning, a large wagon train operator, during the period 1858-59 hauled from San Pedro to Los Angeles 7,000 tons of assorted merchandise and over 1,500,000 feet of lumber. In the same time he hauled to the harbor 1,300,000 pounds of grapes. (The first year after completion of the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad in 1869, it carried over 29,000 tons of freight.⁴)

In an article dealing with early transportation in California Dr. Cleland⁵ states:

As early as 1854 this firm (Alexander and Banning) had 500 mules, thirty or forty horses, forty wagons and fifteen stages running between Los Angeles and San Pedro. Two other lines were operating between the same cities.

According to the *Centennial History*,⁶ in 1851, D. W. Alex-

Early Day Los Angeles: A Great Wagon Train Center

ander bought at Sacramento ten heavy freight wagons and 168 mules that had come through from Chihuahua.

A table by Truman,⁷ published a few years after the completion of the railroad connecting Los Angeles and San Pedro, gives the following list of goods sent from Los Angeles to the port for export. Assorted merchandise, 246,000 lbs; wine and brandy, 3,036,700 lbs.; wool, 3,626,389 lbs.; bullion, 4,826,741 lbs.; fruit, 1,055,360 lbs.; corn, 5,527,768 lbs.; cornmeal and rye over 1,000,000. Other articles sent out in considerable quantities were: beans, wheat, hay, honey, brea and hogs. Commodities shipped in smaller amounts were: skins, dry hides, oats, seed popcorn, borax, nuts, hops, eggs, beeswax, oil, dried fruit, tallow, trees, sea products, horses, sheep. This was really a remarkable showing considering the time the list was made was hardly forty years after the epoch when vessels called at San Pedro to load chiefly hides and tallow.

Wagons on the famed Santa Fé Trail made but one trip a year and as a rule went back empty. The average load was 5,000 lbs. to the wagon. R. L. Duffus⁸ quotes Maline as estimating five or six thousand wagons due in Santa Fé in 1866. Taking the number at 6,000 would make 15,000 tons of freight delivered at the New Mexico city in that year. This was about half the tonnage of freight carried by the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad during the first year of operation. The length of the Santa Fé Trail was about 800 miles, that of the wagon road from Los Angeles to San Pedro about twenty-four miles. At times Nadeau's big wagons hauled as much as eight tons of bullion through Los Angeles to San Pedro.

The discovery of gold on the Kern River started a rush that brought a boom to Los Angeles and San Pedro. Of it the historian Guinn⁹ and a local paper write:

The Kern River excitement of 1855 surpassed anything that preceded it . . . Every steamer down the coast to Los Angeles was loaded to the guards with adventurers for the mines . . . the road from our valley is literally thronged with people on their way to the mines. Every description of vehicle and animal has been brought into requisition . . . Immense ten-mule wagons strung out one after another; long trains of pack mules . . . the opening of the mines has been a Godsend to us all.

*The Agricultural and
Horticultural Colonies*

The founding of El Monte and San Bernardino in 1851, gave the Americans their first stronghold on the soil in Southern California and proved of far more lasting value to Los Angeles than any mine could have been. Both were located in rich well watered sections. Their settlers were of the farmer class who had arrived by wagon and many of them by training were expert wagon masters. Of the settlers at San Bernardino Newmark¹⁰ says:

In a short time they were raising wheat, barley and vegetables . . . From San Bernardino, Los Angeles drew her supply of butter, eggs and poultry . . . San Bernardino supplied all our wants in the lumber line and this building material was peddled around town by Mormon teamsters, who, after disposing of all they could in this manner, bartered the rest to storekeepers.

The lumber came from the forests in the San Bernardino Mountains which range also supplied Los Angeles with ice for use in the summer time.

Mining for gold on an active scale began in the 1860's in the San Bernardino Mountains, several hundred men being engaged in this work.¹¹ They obtained supplies from San Bernardino and this increased trade between that city and Los Angeles. On May 4, 1871, a reporter for a Los Angeles paper¹² found two teams; May 5, four teams; May 6, two teams loading at Los Angeles for San Bernardino. The latter city was made a county seat in 1853.¹³ By 1860 the population of this new county was 5,551¹⁴ or about 2,000 more than Los Angeles County had in 1850. The founding of the horticultural colonies of Southern California, beginning with Anaheim in 1859, was of the greatest value to this section. In addition to Anaheim, Orange, Santa Ana, Pasadena, Pomona were all started before the railroad came to them. Too much credit cannot be given to the pioneers who led the way in the development of the new colonies. Most of the new settlers were from the east where artificial watering of the land was not needed. Though unpracticed in the art of irrigation, they at once turned to it as the key to development and soon proved, by perseverance and much hard work, that what seemed an absolute desert to W. H. Brewer¹⁵ here in 1861,

Early Day Los Angeles: A Great Wagon Train Center

could be turned into a most productive and beautiful residential area. While the flush gold production of California lasted but a few years, a hundred years of statehood still finds the peak to come to the value of her horticultural products.

The following statement by our pioneer merchant:¹⁶

Riversiders long had to travel back and forth to Los Angeles for most of their supplies . . . and this made for friendly as well as profitable business relations with the older as well as larger town . . .

may be taken as indicating the importance of teaming in building up Los Angeles as a distributing center in spite of the fact that some freight was unloaded at Anaheim Landing and hauled inland.

Through the Soledad to Owens Valley

Inyo County — the county now furnishing Los Angeles City with a large part of its water supply—was the last to be brought into direct communication with the metropolis by rail.¹⁷ The bullion shipped from the mines in this county was the first to be sent out in considerable quantities by San Pedro. Newmark notes the beginning of this trade as follows:

Following the opening of the Owens Valley mines in this year (1862) Los Angeles merchants established considerable trade with that territory. Banning inaugurated a system of wagon trains, each guarded by soldiers.¹⁸

The mines of the Cerro Gordo District of Inyo County furnished, during the years 1867-1876, a large tonnage of bullion and it required a highly organized wagon train service to get it to Los Angeles and San Pedro. The magnitude of the freighting carried on over this route is shown by Newmark's statement that Nadeau — at the head of the transportation company — operated at one time thirty-two teams of from twelve to fourteen animals each; fed from 400 to 500 animals, and required mine owners to furnish \$150,000 for the construction and maintenance of stations.¹⁹

Of the monopoly Los Angeles had on this business and the attention given the organization of wagon trains Chalfant²⁰ says:

While some teaming was done from Wadsworth, Nevada, on the Central Pacific, the bulk of the Inyo County shipments went the southern way. Ventura, Santa Barbara and Bakersfield all interested themselves to

become Inyo's shipping point but Los Angeles secured most of the trade. The most important factor in pioneer transportation and, in fact, the most regular and dependable service was the Cerro Gordo Freighting Company, organized in 1873 primarily to transport Cerro Gordo bullion and supplies. Nadeau, its chief organizer, secured a three-year contract from Belshaw and Beaudry and put his business on a thorough schedule. The teaming time was regulated almost to an hour on a basis of 21 or 22 days to the round trip. Stations, watering places and camps were provided as the route demanded. Los Angeles papers stated eighty wagons had been built for the company; fifty-six were in regular service. They were huge affairs . . . each would hold the greater part of the load of a narrow-gauge box car.

Nadeau hauled back to Owens Valley merchandise and supplies for the mines and also sold supplies to persons along the route. As soon as the Southern Pacific reached Mojave it became the southern end of the route. The building of the narrow-gauge railroad into Owens Valley in 1883, connecting it with the Central Pacific Railroad, took the business of the valley to the north until 1910, when the building of a railroad along the general line of the Los Angeles Aqueduct again turned the valley's business southward.

In an early bulletin²¹ of the United States Geological Survey, it is stated the average value of the bullion from the Cerro Gordo District for the period 1869-76 was \$300 per ton; the estimated output for the most prosperous period, \$7,000,000; in 1873, \$2,000,000 worth of bullion was corded up on the shores of Owens Lake awaiting shipment.

The Los Angeles paper²² of the early 1870's often noted the arrival and departure of the big teams on the Cerro Gordo haul. On May 6, 1871, one of the teams brought 17,425 lbs. in one load; on May 11, four teams arrived from and four departed for Cerro Gordo; on May 16, the receipts of bullion at Los Angeles was estimated to 90,000 to 100,000 lbs.

The writer asked a blacksmith, at one time employed by Nadeau, if the wagons used on the Cerro Gordo haul were brought in from the east. "No," he answered, "we tried eastern wagons at first but they were not strong enough to carry the heavy loads over mountain and desert roads. We brought in the material and made up extra large and strong wagons here."



WAGON TRAIN

on the old road to the Cerro Gordo mines in Inyo County

Early Day Los Angeles: A Great Wagon Train Center

Another man interviewed had been the keeper of a station in the mountainous area of Los Angeles County. "See any grizzlies?" I questioned.

"Yes, lots of them," he replied. "One came one day when I was away. He got into the supplies, I expected that. Then he found a hundred pound sack of flour which he could not eat and that seemed to make him mad for he took delight in scattering it around; he really painted the entire interior of the cabin with it. Now, what satisfaction do you suppose he got out of doing a trick like that?"

Trade with Utah, Idaho and Montana

Heavy snows on the Rocky, Sierra Nevada, Blue and Cascade Mountains; the blocking of the Missouri River by ice in winter, low water in summer and fall, swift current at all times; the fighting Indians; the impossibility of navigation on the upper Colorado and the Snake running in deep canyons and much broken by cataracts; these were the geographic, climatic, and geological factors in funneling part of the winter time trade of Utah, Idaho and western Montana to Los Angeles.

In 1847 Brigham Young settled the Mormons at Salt Lake City where, following his wise advice, they were soon producing crops. Then came the rush to the California gold fields in 1849 and the following years. Those going the central route found the new City of the Saints a convenient resting and refitting point. Out here in the Great American Desert supplies like fresh meat, eggs, butter, milk and fresh vegetables could be obtained. The new city grew with the speed of a mining camp city. Three years after founding it had a population of 6,000.²³ It took Los Angeles ninety years after founding to acquire a comparable number of inhabitants. In 1860 Utah had a population of 40,000 whites²⁴ most of whom were living not far from Salt Lake City and were Mormons.

In 1848,²⁵ some returning members of the Mormon Battalion broke out the road across the desert from Southern California to Salt Lake City. Soon emigrant trains were coming over the new road on the way to the gold fields by Los Angeles. In 1851 a party of five-hundred Mormons came over it to found their outpost at San

Bernardino.²⁶ Our early day historians write much of the teaming carried on between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City by this road. Barrow²⁷ says:

During each winter for years, or until the continental railroad was built, [finished in 1869] an extensive trade was carried on between this city [Los Angeles], Salt Lake City and other settlements in Utah. The people of that territory [Utah became a territory in 1850] had no outlet in winter except in this direction, deep snows rendering both the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains impassable. The distance to Los Angeles from Salt Lake City was about 700 miles. The road was level and always free from snow. Even the supplies which the Saints obtained from San Francisco during the winter season were shipped to San Pedro and thence by team. An immense²⁸ number of Mormon teams used to come here every winter for years after goods.

-Of this trade and the carrying power of Los Angeles merchants one of them writes:²⁹

In 1855 a brisk trade was begun with Salt Lake City . . . Banning and Alexander . . . together with T. B. Sanford made the first shipment in a heavily freighted train of fifteen wagons drawn by 150 mules. The train was gone four months . . . in every respect the experiment was a success, and naturally the new route had a beneficial effect on Southern California trade . . . The very important trade with Salt Lake City helped us greatly, for we at once negotiated with the Mormon leaders and, giving them credit when they were short of funds, it was not long before we were brought into constant communication with Brigham Young and, through his influence, monopolized the Salt Lake trade.

The early Los Angeles merchants deserve much credit for capturing this trade for in 1864, according to Bancroft,³⁰ single Salt Lake stores were buying, at one time, \$250,000 worth of goods from stores in St. Louis, Chicago and New York. It is interesting to note that in 1860 the population of Los Angeles was 4,385; Chicago, 109,260; St. Louis, 160,773; New York, 813,699.

In an early history³¹ of Los Angeles County it is stated about fifty teams a month left Los Angeles for Utah in the early months of 1859. The discovery of gold in Utah, Idaho and Montana in the early 1860's followed by a rapid influx of population increased trade between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. For about twenty years, 1860-1880, the three above territories gained population at a faster rate than did Southern California, a much older settled area. Idaho

Early Day Los Angeles: A Great Wagon Train Center

was admitted as a territory in 1863, with a population over 32,000. This was about 7,000 more than that found in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino and Santa Barbara Counties combined in 1860.³²

Montana was admitted as a territory in 1864. It then had three very active mining towns; Virginia City, Bannack and Helena, situated in the southwestern part. Virginia City was founded in 1863, a year later it had a population of 4,000.³³ Within three years \$30,000,000 worth of gold had been taken from the gulches near it. It was 400 miles from Salt Lake City, 1,000 from Portland, 600 from navigation on the Columbia, and 500 from practical navigation on the Missouri River, except perhaps once or twice a year, in good seasons, when steamboats could come to Fort Benton, two hundred miles north.³⁴

The following shows the difficulties encountered by one steamer going down the Missouri River:

The *Imperial*, one of the St. Louis fleet, had the following experience. She started from Cow Island September 18, 1867, with 400 passengers . . . The falling river and the lack of supplies, to be made up by hunting, caused but twenty miles to be made in but one week. The passengers were compelled to pull at ropes and spars [to get the steamer off sandbanks] . . . every atom of food was consumed and for a week the 400 subsisted on wild meat. For three days they had nothing. They arrived at Fort Sully Nov. 14. The *Imperial* was at last frozen in the river and her passengers forced to take any and all means to get back to civilization.³⁵

In spite of troubles encountered in navigating the Missouri most of the freight reaching the mining camps came in by this river. However some came from Southern California as the following shows:

A train load of 20 wagons each drawn by from eight to twelve mules left Los Angeles on the first of March, 1864, for the mines on the Jefferson fork of the Missouri — distance 1,100 miles — cost per pound 90 cents — took drygoods, groceries and liquors — route by Salt Lake — expected time fifty days.³⁶

Trade with Arizona

The number of emigrant wagons reaching California in 1852 by the Gila route was estimated by a local historian³⁷ to be 1,000. They passed through Los Angeles going to the gold fields. In the

1860's freighting to Arizona became heavy due to mining activity and the building of a number of forts³⁸ as protection against the Indians and Southern troops during the Civil War.

Some of the freight destined for this territory originated in San Francisco and could be delivered by the long ocean route around Lower California and up the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Colorado River where it was transferred to small river steamboats, an operation made difficult by the very high bore found at the mouth of this river at times. In addition even very small steamers had trouble getting up to and above Yuma. In 1858 it took Lieutenant Ives,³⁹ with a steamer fifty feet long, three months to make the trip up-stream to the mouth of the Virgin River. The first steamer on the Colorado⁴⁰ had to land her cargo before reaching Yuma. In the Los Angeles newspaper⁴¹ of 1859, an argument is presented showing that freight from San Francisco could be delivered at Fort Mojave more easily by way of San Pedro and teaming across the desert than by the gulf and river way. On the date this paper was issued ten eight-mule teams were started out of Los Angeles for the above fort.

Of the importance of Drum Barracks as a supply point for the southwest and of the influence of this trade on local stores our local merchant⁴² says:

The establishment of Drum Barracks and Camp Drum at Wilmington [near San Pedro] was a great contribution to the making of that town for the Government not only spent over \$1,000,000 on buildings and works there and constantly drew on the town for a large part of its supplies but provisions of all kinds were sent through Wilmington to troops in Utah, Yuma, Tucson and vicinity and New Mexico . . . Major Downing was employed by Banning for some time during the war to take charge of the great wagon trains of government supplies sent inland.

January, 1862,⁴³ also witnessed one of those typical scenes in the fitting out of a mule and wagon train never likely to be seen in the streets of Los Angeles again. Two hundred wagons and twelve hundred mules, mostly brought from San Francisco on steamers, were assembled for a trip across the desert to convoy government stores.

I remember⁴⁴ that in February, 1866, not less than twenty-seven government wagons were drawn up in front of our store to be loaded with provisions for that territory [Arizona].

On March 14, 1858, the Thompson and West History⁴⁵ notes

Early Day Los Angeles: A Great Wagon Train Center

Banning passing through Los Angeles on the way to Yuma with seven ten-mule teams, each wagon carrying 5,000 pounds. The local Los Angeles papers of that period speak frequently of the receipts of bullion from Arizona and of teams loading at the depot with supplies for points in that territory. An advertisement⁴⁶ by a leading freighter states that he is prepared to forward goods to all parts of Arizona.

In an article by our San Bernardino historian⁴⁷ he states:

Freighting by the San Geronimo-Ehrenberg [Arizona] road continued however and increased as the country developed until 1877 when the Southern Pacific Railroad was completed from Los Angeles [which city it reached in 1876] to Yuma. Although the day of long distance teaming was now over freight hauling by wagon continued in Southern California until the truck came in early in the present century.

The Boss of the Southern Wagons

These great wagons were not used on routes passing through Los Angeles, though they greatly resembled the ore wagons of Nadeau once common there; but in hauling borax in the early 1880's from the deposits in Death Valley to Mojave, a station on the Southern Pacific about a hundred miles north of Los Angeles. A reporter⁴⁸ for a New York paper wrote a series of sketches on the early history of the borax industry. He said:

The first thing done was to obtain by inspection or correspondence the dimensions of all . . . great wagons used by Pacific Coast freighters. The task he set for himself was the building of ten wagons so large that any one of them would carry at least ten tons. The hind wheel was seven feet in diameter and its tire eight inches wide and an inch thick. The front wheel was five feet in diameter with a tire like that on the hind wheel. The hubs were eighteen inches in diameter by twenty-two inches long. The spokes were made of split oak five and one-half inches at the but and four inches at the point. The felloes were made double, each piece being four inches wide in cross-section and the two edges bolted together. The forward axle-trees were made of solid steel bars three and one-fourth inches square in cross-section and the rear axles were three and one-half inches square. The wagon-beds were sixteen feet long, four feet wide and six feet deep.⁴⁹ The tread of the wagons — the width across the wheels — was six feet. Each wagon weighed 7,800 pounds and cost of the lot was about \$9,000 or \$900 each . . . The building was all done at

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

the village of Mojave by men working by the day . . . The teams consisted of eighteen mules and two horses driven with a jerk line 120 feet long . . . The train consisted of two wagons coupled together . . . The driver received from \$100 to \$120 a month and the swamper (helper) about \$75. They furnished their own food and bedding.

Of the road over which these wagons were operated the same writer says:

The entire length of the road between Death Valley and Mojave was one hundred and sixty-four and one-half miles (with but) three springs of water . . . The next dry space was fifty-three miles (without water) . . . Here the natural lack of water was overcome by a system of water-tanks . . . like street sprinklers made to hold 500 gallons (each) and towed by the teams to the dry camps. They were made of iron because a wooden tank would fall to pieces . . . from the middle of June to the middle of September no teaming could be done . . . For part of the way the road led up and down the rocky defiles and canyons of one of the most precipitous mountain ranges in the world, the Panamint . . . A loaded team could only travel from fifteen to seventeen miles a day.

* * *

NOTES

1. R. H. Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (1923), 94, 119.
2. Warner, Hayes and Widney, *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County: Centennial History* (Los Angeles, 1876), 55.
3. *Los Angeles Star*, Sept. 24, 1859.
4. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1871.
5. R. G. Cleland, "Transportation in California Before the Railroads, with Special Reference to Los Angeles," *Publication of Historical Society of Southern California*, XI, Pt. 1, 60-67.
6. *Ibid.*, 55.
7. B. C. Truman, *Semi-Tropical California* (A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco, 1874). The table is for the year 1873.
8. R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fé Trail* (New York, 1930), 235, 255.
9. J. M. Guinn, *Los Angeles and Environs* (Los Angeles, 1915), I, 173.
10. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California* (2nd ed., New York, 1926), 88.
11. L. A. Ingersoll, *Ingersoll's Century Annals of San Bernardino County* (Los Angeles, 1904), 277. See also Will H. Thrall, "Lytle Creek Canyon From the Indian Days to 1900," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, Sept. 1950, 237.
12. *Los Angeles Star*.

Early Day Los Angeles: A Great Wagon Train Center

NOTES

13. The Act forming San Bernardino County passed the legislature April 26, 1853 Cf. Ingersoll, *op. cit.*, 137.
14. *Bulletin, Population, California*, 14th Census of U. S., 1920.
15. W. H. Brewer, *Up and Down California, 1860-64* (New Haven, 1930), 38. He formed this opinion of the country while overlooking the valley of the Santa Ana River from Mt. Santiago, the highest point of the Santa Ana Mountains.
16. Newmark, *op. cit.*, 391.
17. The railroad from Mojave to Owenyo was finished in 1910. Cf. W. A. Chalfant, *The Story of Inyo* (Los Angeles, 1922), 293.
18. Newmark, *loc. cit.*
19. *Ibid.*, 385-387.
20. Chalfant, *op. cit.* 289 f.
21. *Bulletin* 540, 95-110.
22. *Los Angeles Star*.
23. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 238.
24. J. B. McMaster, *Brief History of the United States* (California State Series), 342.
25. A Harvey Collins, "At the End of The Trail," *Publications of Historical Society of Southern California*, XI Pt. 2, 69.
26. Ingersoll, *op. cit.*, 151.
27. "Reminiscences of Los Angeles in the Fifties and Early Sixties," *Publications of Historical Society of Southern California*, III, Pt. 1, 57.
28. Frederick Simpich, "Mapping our Changing Southwest," *National Geographic Magazine*, Dec. 1948, 826: "At one time horses kept 5000 wagons rolling between Utah and California."
29. Newmark, *op. cit.* 187, 345.
30. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 764.
31. *The Thompson and West History* (Oakland, 1880), 95.
32. *Bulletin, Population 1920*, 5. Population of the four counties combined is given as 24,751.
33. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Washington, Idaho, Montana*, 629. Cf. also O. O. Winther, *The Great Northwest*, 225, where he gives the population of Virginia City as 10,000 and (231) estimates Boise Idaho, at 15-20,000 in 1863.
34. Bancroft, *Washington*, 629.
35. *Ibid.*, 732-33.
36. *Ibid.*, 426.
37. Guinn, *op. cit.*, 213.
38. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 528. Map shows nine forts including Yuma in California. Fort Defiance is not on map but is mentioned on p. 609.
39. *Ibid.*, 495.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

40. *Ibid.*, 490.
41. Los Angeles *Star*, Oct. 29, 1895.
42. Newmark, *op. cit.*, 301.
43. *Ibid.*, 312.
44. *Ibid.*, 354.
45. *Ibid.*, 95.
46. By Banning, Los Angeles *Star*, July 15, 1870.
47. G. W. Beattie, "Development of Travel Between Southern Arizona and Los Angeles," *Publications of Historical Society of Southern California*, XIII, Pt. 2, 255-56.
49. J. R. Spears, working for the New York *Sun*. The sketches were made in the early 1890's and a paper-bound copy of them was issued. The one which the writer has is without title page and date. The specifications for the big wagons are found in Chapter VII, *Freighting on the Desert*, 88-90.
49. Wallace Smith in *The Garden of the Sun* (Los Angeles, 1939), 139, speaks of a freight wagon having a bed twenty-eight feet long, eight feet wide, and five feet deep. It was used for freighting in the San Joaquin Valley in gold mining days.



The Pasadena Railway

By Franklyn Hoyt



IN OCTOBER, 1886, when the Southern California real estate boom was just beginning, the Pasadena *Union* announced that the Pasadena Improvement Company had purchased 1,300 acres north of Pasadena from Colonel J. Banbury, P. Gano, and the Woodbury brothers. One of the first steps in the development of this property, the *Union* went on to say:

would be the subdivision of this entire property into lots of five and ten acres. One very important enterprise already projected is the construction of a cable or electric railroad from some point near the Raymond to the base of the mountains at the head of the land purchased.¹

More than four months later, on the 19th of February, 1887, the Pasadena Railway Company was incorporated²

for the purpose of constructing, maintaining and operating a steam Railroad from a point within the City of Pasadena . . . to a point within Rancho La Canada.³

It is uncertain when construction was begun, but it was probably about the first of April, 1887. The first land for a right-of-way was not secured until March 17th, and four other pieces of property were bought during April; all of these were in the vicinity of Pasadena Avenue and Colorado Street. Track laying was completed in 1887, and the first trains ran between South Pasadena and the new town of Altadena in January, 1888.⁴

The Pasadena Railway began at a depot located near the Raymond Hotel, where the new railroad made a junction with the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad. From the Raymond the line "meandered up west of Fair Oaks Avenue, crossed Orange Grove at a point west of Pasadena Avenue" and went on up Lincoln

Avenue past the site of the present Rose Bowl until it reached Las Casitas Station near Devil's Gate. From Las Casitas Station the railroad made more than a forty-five degree turn to the east, and then along the line of present Harriet Street in Altadena to its terminus on Lake Avenue.⁵

Apparently the Pasadena Railway intended to build its main line across the Arroyo Seco toward La Cañada because in a suit filed June 20, 1887, it was stated that the Pasadena Railway was a corporation organized for the purpose of building a railroad from Pasadena

to a point within Rancho La Canada . . . and a branch thereof from a point on the main line of said railroad about two miles northwesterly from that point known as Monk's Hill . . . in an easterly direction of about three miles.

In another part of this same suit the route of the railroad is described as follows:

Starting from a point in the said City of Pasadena, near the Raymond Hotel at a junction with the present line of the Los Angeles & San Gabriel Valley Railroad. Thence in a generally northerly direction through the city of Pasadena northward to the mountains and along the base of the same northwesterly to a point in Rancho La Canada in the neighborhood of Lanterman's near the town of La Canada, with a branch line extending from . . . a point about two miles northwesterly from said Monk's Hill . . . easterly to a point . . . near the mouth of Eaton Canon.⁶

Raymond Station was located on land purchased from J. S. Mills for \$2,000; Mills also gave the railroad a right-of-way across three lots which he owned near Raymond Avenue. The next station north of the Raymond Hotel was located on the north side of California Street between Fair Oaks and Pasadena Avenues on land purchased from Lily A. Barclay. The railroad paid Mrs. Barclay only \$700 for a right-of-way thirty feet wide through two lots near California Street, but in addition the railroad agreed to erect a "station house" on "California Street at the point where the railroad . . . crosses said street . . . It being expressly understood that this does not include regular through express trains."⁷

Another depot was located on the north side of Colorado Street near Pasadena Avenue, but there is no record of how this depot site

The Pasadena Railway

was acquired. North of Colorado Avenue there were no depots until the Devil's Gate was reached. There is no record of the railroad buying land for the Las Casitas Station or the Altadena Station on Lake Avenue, but these depots may have been built on land owned by the Pasadena Improvement Company.

The history of the Pasadena Railway illustrates one of the worst mistakes that a small railroad can make; that is to pay inflated prices for land on which to lay its tracks. For a right-of-way thirty feet wide and about ten miles long between Raymond Station (South Pasadena) and Altadena the railroad was forced to pay about \$70,000. This included property which was bought along the line of the railroad for speculative purposes, but this property became nearly worthless after 1888 and further helped to bankrupt the railroad.⁸

There are several reasons why the Pasadena Railway paid so much for its right-of-way. In the first place the railroad was begun in the spring of 1887 when the real estate boom was reaching a peak of wild speculation. Also the railroad made the mistake of not getting some civic group to sponsor the railroad and encourage property owners along the line of the railroad to donate land for a right of way. One thing which made it difficult to interest civic groups in the railroad was the fact that it connected Pasadena with a real estate subdivision; the people of Pasadena were not very interested in traveling to Altadena, and there were few people living in the new town.⁹

More than half of the right-of-way was acquired during 1887, but the price paid was only \$21,000, less than one-third of the total paid for the entire right-of-way. Most of this land was located along Fair Oaks and Pasadena Avenues between Orange Grove Avenue and the Raymond Hotel. The prices paid varied considerably, but the average was about \$1,000 for a single lot and \$300 for a thirty foot right-of-way across one lot.¹⁰

During 1888 quite reasonable prices were paid for some lots, while other property sold for fantastic prices. For example, D. Galbraith sold the railroad a lot near Pasadena and Orange Grove Avenues for \$750, while Charles M. and George W. Stimson were paid \$7,718 for three lots near Fair Oaks Avenue about half-a-mile

north of the Raymond Hotel. Other instances are the payment of \$500 to J. S. Mills for two lots near the Raymond Hotel, and Thomas V. Hardwich who received \$4,500 for a single lot near Pasadena and Colorado Avenues. There is only one case of a right-of-way being practically donated to the railroad; J. L. Harwell and William B. Langbery deeded the railroad a right-of-way thirty feet wide and nearly a hundred feet long for \$5.¹¹

Very few condemnation suits were filed by the Pasadena Railway, but this can probably be explained by the fact that the railroad was prepared to pay more than the land was worth in order to keep the case out of court. James Smith, who owned property on Pasadena Avenue just north of California Street, refused to come to terms and the railroad finally filed a condemnation suit to get a right-of-way across two lots. This case came to trial August 31, 1887, while the real estate boom was at its peak, and the jury awarded Smith \$14,500 for a thirty-foot right-of-way across two lots located along the west line of Pasadena Avenue near Bellevue Drive. The railroad was also required to post a bond of \$1,000 to assure that it would construct cattle guards and fences within eighteen months.¹²

Cattle guards and fences were not built as agreed, and Smith sued the Pasadena Railway and two men who were sureties for the bond. Finally the case was settled out of court, the railroad paying Smith \$200 and granting him permission to build a siding which would connect his property with the main line of the railroad.¹³

Success of the Pasadena Railway depended upon the ability of the Pasadena Improvement Company to sell lots and attract residents to the new town of Altadena. When the real estate boom collapsed in the summer of 1888 there were few people living in Altadena to travel on the railroad, but in order to hold its franchise the company continued to run a few empty trains every day between the Raymond Hotel and Altadena.¹⁴

Captain Cross, who was already operating two railroads between Los Angeles, Glendale, and Pasadena, came to the rescue of the Pasadena Railway by leasing it for three years.¹⁵ The main business district of Pasadena was reached by running a switch four blocks down Colorado Street to a new depot between De Lacy

The Pasadena Railway

Street and Fair Oaks Avenue. This switch was completed March 11, 1890, but about a year later Captain Cross sold all of his railroads to the Los Angeles Terminal Railway. When Cross's three-year lease to the Pasadena Railway expired this railroad was also purchased by the Terminal Railway.¹⁶

For nearly ten years the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad successfully operated its railway system extending from Altadena to the Pacific Ocean at the western tip of Rattlesnake (Terminal) Island. Finally, in 1900 the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad was merged with the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railway, which completed its line to Utah five years later. In 1921 the Salt Lake Railway was sold to the Union Pacific Railroad, and in this way the little railroad which the Pasadena Improvement Company had built to Altadena became part of a great transcontinental railroad system.

NOTES

1. Hiram A. Reid, *History of Pasadena* (Pasadena, 1895), 432.
2. *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States, Street Railway and Traction Companies, Industrial and other Corporations* . . . (57 vols., New York, 1868-1924), XXIII, 643. The common name for this railroad was the Altadena Railway or the Altadena and Pasadena Railway. All of the deeds for the right of way were recorded in the name of the Pasadena Railway; this is the name used in *Poor's Manual* and in the reports of the California Railroad Commission.
3. Los Angeles County Superior Court, case no. 6254, *Pasadena Railway vs. Levi Giddings, Calvin Hartwell and Edward H. Royce*.
4. Los Angeles County Recorder, Deeds, DCII, 290, 297-298; DCXI, 36, 43-44, 47. California Railroad Commission, *Annual Report* (Sacramento, 1892), 336.
5. Sarah Noble Ives, *Altadena* (Pasadena, 1938), 243-244.
6. *Pasadena Railway vs. Levi Giddings, Calvin Hartwell and Edward H. Royce*.
7. *Deeds*, DCXII, 34-35, 40-41.
8. The total of all deeds recorded by the railroad between 1887 and 1889 was \$68,839, but it is probable that some deeds were never recorded or that they have been overlooked because of errors in indexing or for other reasons.
9. The boom began about January, 1887, when sales reached \$5 million, hit a peak in June, 1887, when \$12 million worth of real estate changed hands, and was over by July, 1888, when sales again declined to \$5 million. Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, 1944), 273.
10. *Deeds*, DCII to DCXII, *passim*.
11. *Deeds*, CDLI, 8-9; DCXI, 91, 137, 138; DCIII, 308; DCIV, 176-177.
12. The record of this suit may be found in the deed which transferred the right of way to the railroad. *Deeds*, DCLXVII, 194-197.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA


NOTES

13. Los Angeles County Superior Court, case No. 11, 412, *James Smith vs. P. M. Green, B. F. Ball and the Pasadena Railway Company*; *Deeds*, DCXXXIII, 189-191.
14. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 432. It is not known exactly when the railroad became bankrupt, but it was not able to make a \$1,500 payment which was due Mary Gifford July 30, 1888. One year previously the Pasadena Railway had purchased nine lots from Mrs. Gifford near the corner of Hammond street and Lincoln Avenue for \$4,500, and had agreed to make three payments of \$1,500 each. The first two payments were made on July 30, 1887, and January 30, 1888, but the last payment was never made. July 20, 1889, Mrs. Gifford filed suit against the railroad, and the following September obtained a default judgment for \$1,804.16 and interest at 7%. There is no record that this judgment was ever paid. Los Angeles County Superior Court, case No. 11,022, *Mary R. D. Gifford vs. Pasadena Railway Company*.
15. There is no record of when Captain Cross secured this lease, but it was probably during the summer or fall of 1888.
16. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 433; Ives, *Altadena*, 244. Cross paid an annual rental of \$2,400 for the Pasadena Railway. When he sold out to the Los Angeles Terminal, Captain Cross received \$300,000 for all of his railroads, including the lease to the Pasadena Railway. Later the Terminal Railway purchased the Pasadena Railway for \$63,433. California Railroad Commission, *Report* (1892), 330-336.



Fremont on Rocky Mountains

By Phillip Rochlin

 JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT was only twenty-nine years of age when he received his first opportunity to lead an official exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains. It was during this expedition that he was privileged to become the first man to scale the peak which has come to bear his name.

Frémont's first real experience as an explorer was gained in 1838-39, when as a second lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, he accompanied the French scientist, Jean Nicholas Nicollet on an expedition which explored the plateau between the upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. On October 19, 1841, he married Jessie Benton, the seventeen-year-old daughter of United Senator Thomas Hart Benton. (Frémont, who had been born January 21, 1813, in Savannah, Georgia, was then twenty-eight.)

Senator Benton was a staunch advocate of Western expansion and a leader in the "movement to settle the Oregon question by emigration."¹ When an expedition was authorized to map the Oregon Trail, Frémont, at Benton's behest, was chosen as its leader. This choice of the young lieutenant, however, is not to be considered solely as a political appointment, as Frémont was warmly recommended by the ailing Nicollet and was considered to be the old man's able and legitimate successor.²

Frémont's orders were to "explore and report upon the country between the frontiers of Missouri and the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, and on the line of the Kansas and Great Platte Rivers." Leaving Washington May 2, 1842, he arrived in St. Louis, by way of New York,³ on the 22nd. In the neighborhood of St. Louis he collected twenty-one men, "principally Creole and Canadian *voyageurs*, who had become familiar with prairie life in the service of the fur companies in the Indian country." In addition to several

others, the expedition included as guide, Christopher Carson, "more familiarly known for his exploits in the mountains as Kit Carson."

The final arrangements for the expedition were completed at Cyprian Chouteau's trading house several miles above the mouth of the Kansas River. After a short delay due to bad weather, the expedition "sat out on the morning of the 10th [June], which happened to be Friday, a circumstance which our men did not fail to remember and recall during the hardships and vexations of the ensuing journey."

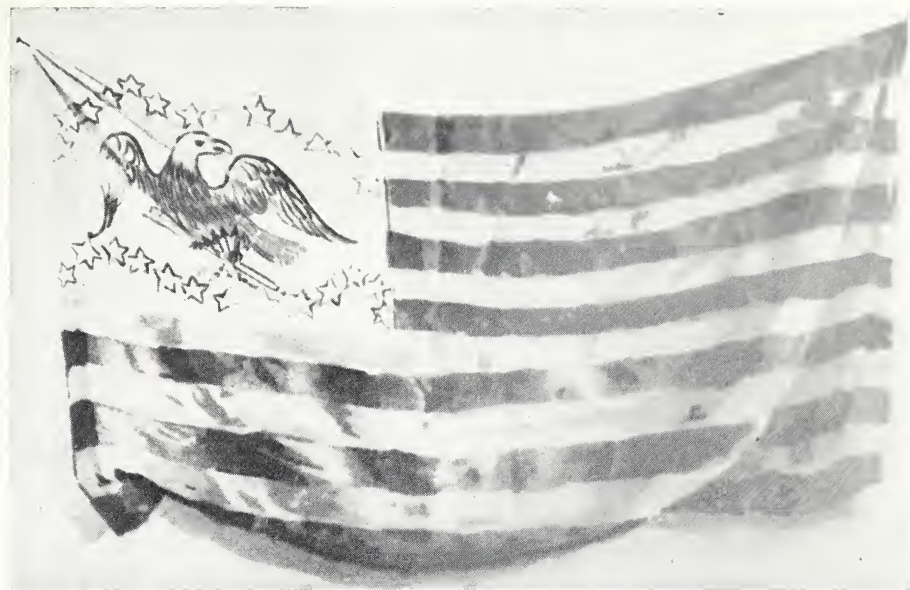
Frémont first proceeded up the Kansas River Valley and then crossed to the Platte, which he followed into the foothills of the Rockies. Struggling up the valley of the Sweetwater, the party reached the principal objective of its march, the South Pass. Crossing the Continental Divide, they continued their march to the headwaters of the Green River, which flows into the Colorado. This reached, Frémont set out to explore the Wind River chain, the highest group of mountains in Wyoming.⁴

On Monday, August 15, Frémont, Charles Preuss (his topographical assistant), and four men set out to climb what they believed to be the highest peak in the Rockies.

We soon had the satisfaction to find ourselves riding along the huge wall which forms the central summits of the chain. There at last it rose by our sides, a nearly perpendicular wall of granite, terminating 2,000 to 3,000 feet above our heads in a serrated line of broken, jagged cones. We rode on until we came almost immediately below the main peak, which I denominated the Snow Peak, as it exhibited more snow to the eye than any of the neighboring summits. . .

At what Frémont believed to be the best point, they began climbing;

and in a short time reached the crest. I sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snow field five hundred feet below . . . I stood on a narrow crest, about three feet in width, with an inclination of about 20°N. 51°E. As soon as I had gratified the first feelings of curiosity I descended, and each man ascended in his turn, for I would only allow one at a time to mount the unstable and precarious slab, which it seemed a breath would hurl into the abyss below. We mounted the barometer in the snow of the summit, and fixing a ramrod in a crevice, unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never a flag waved before.



FREMONT'S ROCKY MOUNTAIN FLAG

Raised on "highest" peak in Rocky Mountains — August 15, 1852



ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF FLAG PLANTING

as depicted in *Oregon and California, the Exploring Expedition*, published by

Geo. H. Darby & Co., New York, 1851

Fremont on Rocky Mountains

During the ascent they had met no sign of animal life except a small sparrow-like bird, but while they were sitting on the rock a solitary bee (*bromus, the humble bee*) came winging his flight from the eastern valley, and lit on the knee of one of the men . . . The barometer stood at 18.293, the attached thermometer at 44°, giving for the elevation of this summit 13,570 feet above the Gulf of Mexico . . . It is presumed that this is the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains . . . We had accomplished an object of laudable ambition, and beyond the strict order of our instructions. We had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains, and looked down upon the snow a thousand feet below, and standing where never human foot had stood before, felt the exultation of first explorers . . .³

The next day they began their journey homeward and arrived at St. Louis, October 17, where the expedition was disbanded, Frémont returning to Washington by the 29th. On November 13, Jessie gave birth to their first child, a daughter, who was named Elizabeth Benton Frémont. To alleviate her disappointment in not bearing him a son, Frémont showed Jessie some of his trophies. Spreading over her bed a ragged, wind-whipped flag, he told her proudly: "This flag was raised over the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains; I have brought it to you."⁵

Frémont's report to the chief of the Corps of Topographical Engineers was written by his wife from his dictated notes and 1,000 copies were printed in 1843 "by order of the United States Senate."³ After his return from the second expedition, the reports for both expeditions were printed together and issued in 1845.⁶ Frémont's *Notice to the Reader*, which appears in both the Senate and House editions refers for the first time to the peak as *Frémont's Peak*. The 1845 map, which includes the routes of both expeditions also points out *Frémont's Peak*; the map which appeared in 1843 with the first report alone, did not mention the peak at all, referring only to Frémont's position on the date *15 Aug.* (Fremont, it may be recalled, had named it Snow Peak in his report.)

The 2,000 copies printed officially in 1845 did not satisfy the public demand and the texts were published commercially, editions appearing as late as 1856, and including after 1849, "a description of the Physical Geography of California, with recent notices of the Gold Region from the latest and most authentic sources."⁷

The earliest representation of Frémont on the mountain peak seems to have appeared in 1849^{7 8 9} and shows the peak to be much lower and more rounded than it does in those which appeared later. (Only four of the five men who were with Frémont are depicted here, three of them being shown with the "humble bee.") All the other drawings (except one which appeared in 1877) were printed in campaign biographies and on at least one campaign envelope¹⁰ published in 1856, when Colonel Frémont ran against James Buchanan and Millard Fillmore as the first presidential candidate of the newly-formed Republican party.¹¹

Two other representations of Frémont on the peak have been illustrated previously in the philatelic press in connection with the source for the design of the five-cent 1898 Trans-Mississippi-"Omaha" Exposition stamp.¹² These illustrations appeared originally in campaign biographies by John Bigelow¹³ and by Francis Channing Woodworth.¹⁴

The editions of Smucker⁹ contained the "rounded peak" illustration as described above. However, a copy^{9a} in The Free Library of Philadelphia, contains a different illustration, but with the same caption. This cut is signed "J. R. C." near the lower left corner, but it is *the same* as the Woodworth cut,¹⁴ except for the bottom portion containing the title and the signature "J. W. Orr Sc.," which have been eliminated. It is, however, wider than the Woodworth cut, so that if both illustrations could be superimposed, the two signatures would occupy their proper positions, though, with the caption in Smucker partly covered by the signature and caption from Woodworth.

In addition to these, there are at least three more distinct designs depicting Frémont on the peak. These are to be found in a pamphlet biography attributed to Horace Greeley,¹⁵ in a biography by Charles Wentworth Upham¹⁶ and on a campaign envelope,¹⁷ and in history books by William Augustus Crafts¹⁸ and by Edward Sylvester Ellis and Charles Francis Horne.¹⁹

The woodcut in the Greeley pamphlet¹⁵ depicts the five men who were with Frémont, as does the illustration in Woodworth¹⁴ and the "Philadelphia" Smucker;^{9a} but the cut in Upham¹⁶ has six men and the cut in Bigelow¹³ seven men; all in addition to Frémont. The

Fremont on Rocky Mountains

cut in Crafts¹⁸ and in Ellis and Horne¹⁹ shows Frémont, with the flag on the peak; two men are nearby, waving; and one man is a little further off; seven more are on an adjacent peak looking on — a total of ten men, in addition to the *Pathfinder*. The text³ names the *five* men who actually accompanied him that day, but the artists appear not to have been bothered by such details. (It is interesting to note though, that John Torrey, the botanist who cataloged the plants collected by Frémont on the expedition, mentions, in his section of the *Report*, only four men as attending Frémont on the ascent.)²⁰

Frémont died in New York City, July 13, 1890. In 1898, the Post Office Department, when planning the Trans-Mississippi series of postage stamps to be “indicative in some way of the development of the great region beyond the Mississippi River,” selected for the five-cent value, a scene depicting “ ‘ Frémont on Rocky Mountains,’ modified from a wood engraving, representing the Pathfinder planting the U. S. flag on the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains.”²¹ This engraving has never been identified. However, the stamp design is remarkably like the illustration in Crafts¹⁸ and in Ellis and Horne.¹⁹ Like the designs on the envelope,¹⁷ the drawing on the stamp is reversed from that on the book illustration. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the shape of the peak is similar, as are the positions of the three men. Perhaps then, this is the “wood engraving” used by the U. S. Bureau of Engraving and Printing designer, R. Ostrander Smith, as a model for the stamp design.

With reference to the peak itself, Frémont had determined its height as 13,570 feet.³ In 1878, A. D. Wilson who was leading a surveying expedition in that vicinity, also climbed *Frémont's Peak*.

Reaching the summit about 10:00 a.m. [August 7], we found no signs of anyone having visited this point before; but I am of the opinion that this is the point that Fremont ascended in 1842 while executing his exploration across the continent at that time, judging only from his description of the country.²²

Wilson determined the elevation above sea-level as 13,790 feet, its position in the Territory of Wyoming as 43°07'28.5" N. Lat., 109°37'17.3" W. Long. The height as redetermined in 1906, by the U. S. Geological Survey, is now given as 13,730 feet.²³ However, it

is not as Frémont believed, the highest peak in the Wind River chain, *Gannett Peak*, about four and one-half miles NNW of *Frémont Peak* [note slight change in designation] being 13,785 feet high; also, Colorado has forty-eight named peaks, including *Pikes Peak*, which exceed 14,000 feet in altitude.^{23 25}

We might note, too, that Dallenbaugh²⁵ has suggested that Frémont perhaps was not the first man on the peak. Captain Bonneville had been in the region in 1833 and had climbed a peak that he thought the highest of the whole range, describing a view very much the same as Frémont's.²⁶

A few words may now be added about the flag itself. This was a special American flag which had the regulation thirteen stripes, but with an eagle in the field, the eagle's claws holding not only arrows, but an Indian peace pipe as well. Frémont, in his *Memoirs*,¹ states that he went in March, 1842, to New York to obtain necessary instruments and other essentials. He makes no mention of the flag at all, but Alice Eyre and Mrs. Phillips²⁷ both state that he designed and had the flag made at this time, the design in the field being intended to impress the Indians as a symbol of peace. The explanation is plausible, although no reference is given for the statement. We may note here that Alice Eyre has indulged in a good deal of "poetic license" in her book. All descriptions of the peak's ascent which were examined tallied with each other except hers. Quoting supposedly from Frémont's report, she writes that he "unfurled one of the flags I had made in New York as a wind-test — then the American flag was soon waving where never an American flag waved before." She also has the peak being named for Frémont by the men in his party who did not actually climb the mountain; as noted before, *Snow Peak* first became *Frémont's Peak* in the report and map of 1845.⁶

Whatever its origin, the flag was given to Jessie on the birth of Elizabeth Benton Frémont. She in turn "bequeathed" it to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles.²⁸ The flag, which measures 6'8" by 4', is 8-G-5 in the Museum catalog and is described as:

Bunting stripes. Field of linen with American eagle painted in blue, holds peace pipe in one claw — arrows in the other. Twenty-six stars for twenty-six states outlined in blue . . . The flag was given to Mrs. Fremont,

Fremont on Rocky Mountains

who lined it with a piece of her wedding dress of lilac silk embroidered in gold silk with the following motto: "Rocky Mountains 1841." Silk in shreds, several letters and figures of the motto missing. Flag much worn, partly through age. Handmade throughout . . . It has been re-lined in part with heavy muslin. Gold cord border.²⁹

NOTES

1. John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago and New York: Belford, Clark & Co., 1886) vol I, pp 69-72, 606. (Only one volume published.) There is a full page illustration of the flag in color, facing p. 152, captioned *Frémont's Rocky-Mountain Flag*. Raised on highest peak of Wind River chain August 15., 1842. Another illustration, facing p. 150, is captioned: *Central Chain of Wind River Mountains — Fremont Peak*. The flag illustration has been copied in Catherine Coffin Phillips, *Jessie Benton Frémont* (San Francisco: Printed by John Henry Nash, 1935) p. 67. See also: [Thomas Hart Benton], *Thirty Years' View* . . . By a Senator of Thirty Years (New York: D. Appelton and Co., 1854-56) 2 vols. II, Chapters 112-113.
2. Allan Nevins, *Frémont, The West's Greatest Adventurer* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1928) 2 vols. Vol. I, p. 89f. See also: Catherine Coffin Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 60f.
3. *A Report on An Exploration of the Country Lying Between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, on the Line of the Kansas and Great Platte Rivers*, by Lieut. J. C. Frémont, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. (Washington: Printed by Order of the United States Senate.) 27-3, S.doc.243. 1843 [Except as otherwise noted, the descriptions of the expedition and the quotations, including the punctuation, are from this edition.]
4. Allan Nevins, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, P. 111f.
5. *Ibid.* p. 125. See also: C. C. Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68; Alice Eyre, *The Famous Frémonts and Their America* (The Fine Arts Press, 1948) p. 88.
6. *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the years 1843-'44* by Brevet Captain J. C. Frémont . . . Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States. (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1845) 28-2, S. doc. 174. Also printed by Order of the House of Representatives. (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1845) 28-2, H. doc. 166. (The Senate and House each ordered 10,000 copies of the reports to be printed together.)
7. Brevet Col. J. C. Frémont, *Oregon and California: The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon and California* (Buffalo: Geo. H. Darby & Co., 1949). The illustration without caption appears, facing p. 103, in this and also in the 1850 and 1851 printings. Other printings with the same text, but without illustration, appeared in 1854 and 1856. There are probably other printings as well.
8. The *Reports* were published also as a *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition* . . . (Reprinted from the official copy) in at least nine editions between 1845 and 1856; one even was published in London. The printings by Hall & Dickson (Syracuse) have the same illustrations, in the same place, as the Derby editions in (7). (Excerpts from the reports appeared also in Germany and in other countries.)

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

NOTES

9. *The Life of Col. John Charles Frémont* . . . The memoir by Samuel M. S[ch]mucker (New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856). The same plates as in (7) are used for the Reports; the same illustration as in (7,8) appears here, facing p. 169, this time with caption: *Planting the American Flag upon the Summit of the Rocky Mountains*. (Several copies, described, were examined in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Library.) See also (9a).
- 9a. Samuel M. Smucker, *op. cit.* One copy, in the Free Library of Philadelphia, contains an illustration, facing p. 167, which is like the cut in Woodworth.⁽¹⁴⁾ The caption here is the same as in (9), but the punctuation is as follows: Planting the American Flag upon the summit of the Rocky Mountains.
10. Other campaign envelopes which appeared at the time were engraved with a portrait of Frémont in one of several sizes.
11. On May 31, 1864, Frémont was nominated for president by a group of anti-Lincoln "Radicals, Germans, and War Democrats." He withdrew from the race in September, not "because he approved of Lincoln's policies, but because General McClellan [the Democratic candidate] had declared, in effect, for restoration of the Union with slavery, and the Democrats must hence, at all costs, be defeated. Between the two sides, no man of liberal convictions could hesitate; but he thought that the Chief Executive was simply the lesser of two evils." — Nevins, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 645-647.
12. Lester G. Brookman, *The 19th Century Postage Stamps of the United States* (New York; H. L. Lindquist, 1947) 2 vols. Vol II, pp 207-228. (Much of Brookman's material on this issue is from George B. Sloane's article in *The Stamp Specialist* [No. 9]*Green Book*, part of which is based in turn on Clarence W. Blazer, *A Historical Catalog of U. S. Stamps Essays and Proofs: The Omaha, Trans-Mississippi Issue 1898*, (published, 1939 by C. W. B.). Both the Bigelow and Woodworth cuts were illustrated in Sloane, only the Woodworth in Brazer. Brookman mentions both, but illustrates neither.
13. John Bigelow, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of John Charles Frémont* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856). The cut faces p. 49 and is captioned: *Frémont plants the American Flag on the Highest Peak of the Rocky Mountains*. (Bigelow, editor of the New York *Evening Post*, and one of Frémont's most ardent supporters, wrote this book with the assistance of Frémont's wife.) Dr. Warren G. Atwood was the first to connect this cut with the postage stamp (12) and wrote about it to George B. Sloane, who reported it in his "U. S. Varieties" column in *Stamps*, December 5, 1936, 17, p389, with full credit to Dr. Atwood. See also: *Stamps*, May 9, 1936, 15, p. 201 and October 14, 1939, 22, p. 49.
14. Francis Channing Woodworth. *The Young American's Life of Frémont*. (New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856.) This cut, on p. 73, is captioned: Frémont on the Height of Rock Peak. See also: (9a).
15. *Life of Col. Frémont* (New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1856). This 32-page pamphlet appeared in at least three editions, two with and one without the inscription: New York, Aug. 1, 1856, at the bottom of p. 32, col. 2. Copies were examined in the Library of Congress and in the New York Library. Five copies without the inscription contain, on p. 11, the woodcut titled: *Raising the Flag on the Peak — Height, 13,570 Feet*. Three copies with the inscription had a different

Fremont on Rocky Mountains

NOTES

woodcut on the same page. However, one copy in the Library of Congress contained the correct woodcut and the inscription. An edition in German (without the inscription) titled: *Das Leben des Obersten Frémont*, contains the cut on page 8, captioned in German script: *Aufsteckung der Flagge aus [sic] dem Felsgipfel — Höhe, 13,570 Fuss*. (Nevins, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 498, attributes this pamphlet to another Frémont supporter, Horace Greely of the New York *Tribune*.)

16. Charles Wentworth Upham, *Life, Explorations and Public Services of John Charles Frémont*. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856). The woodcut, facing p. 88, is titled: *Hoisting the American Flag on the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains*. (This caption is about 75.5 mm long in the printings marked Thirtieth, Thirty-Sixth, Fortieth, Forty-Fifth, and Fiftieth Thousand. An earlier (first?) edition, which does not mention the author's name on the title-page, uses smaller letters for the caption (about 71.4 mm long) and has a lower-case "f" in "flag"; the ten-page Appendix, which in the later printings contains information about Frémont's nomination, is omitted here. All printings, however, are dated 1856.)
17. This envelope illustrates scenes from Frémont's expeditions, the drawings being based on illustrations from Upham's biography (16). Upper left is the "peak" cut (from the first expedition). The two other drawings are from the third expedition and depict events which occurred in May, 1846. Lower left is the "Night Assault by the [Klamath]Indians" which faces page 219 in Upham. (Frémont, *Memoirs*, pp. 490-492, and Upham, pp. 218-220, refer to them as the Tlamath Indians.) The center illustration depicts the "Charge upon the Indians at Redding's Rancho" which faces page 233 in Upham. (For some reason these two cuts are reversed on the envelope; the "peak" cut however, faces the same as it does in the book illustration.) The Frémont portrait is similar to the frontispiece.
18. William Augustus Crafts, *Pioneers in the Settlement of America: From Florida in 1510 to California in 1849*. (Boston: Published by Samuel Walker and Company, 1876-1877) 2 vols. The woodcut which is captioned: *Fremont on the Rocky Mountains.*, is in Vol. II, facing p. 384.
19. Edward S. Ellis and Charles F. Horne, *The Story of the Greatest Nations*. (New York: Francis R. Niglutsch, Copyright 1901-1905) 10 vols. The illustration in Vol. IX, facing p. 1632, is the same as in Crafts (18) and is credited to him, but the caption reads: *Fremont at the Summit of the Rocky Mountains*.
20. Presumably, he has forgotten Charles Preuss, the topographical assistant.
21. Brookman, *op. cit.*, quoted from official Post Office Department circular of May 16, 1898, reproduced Vol. II, pp. 208-209.
22. Ferdinand Vandiveer Hayden, *Eleventh Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879.) Part II. Topography. Report of A. D. Wilson, Chief Topographer. pp. 41, 649, 656, 661-670.
23. U. S. Geological Survey, Topographical Map, Wyoming (Frémont County) Frémont Peak Quadrangle. Edition of Jan., 1909. Surveyed in 1906. E. M. Douglas, Geographer in charge.
24. *The National Geographic Magazine*, 62, 30 (July, 1932).
25. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *Frémont and '49*. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914) pp. 86-88.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

NOTES

26. Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West* . . .
27. Alice Eyre, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 83f. C. C. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
28. Archaeological Institute of America, the Southwest Society (Los Angeles, California). Third bulletin, May 1, 1907. A full page photo (p. 21) depicts Elizabeth Benton Frémont with her father's flag. See also: p. 25.
29. Private communications from Mrs. Ella Robinson, Librarian, and Mr. M. R. Harrington, Curator, Southwest Museum, to whom grateful acknowledgement is made for help in assembling some of the material presented in this paper. (Photographs of Frémont's flag as it appears today, are available from the Museum at twenty-five cents each.)





DRAWING FROM JOHN BIGELOW'S BOOK

Memoirs of the Life and Public Service of John C. Fremont

The Pico House

By Oscar Lawler

To discuss the Pico House and omit Pio Pico, its builder, would be akin to excluding the Prince of Denmark from a discourse on "Hamlet." Born at San Gabriel Mission May 5, 1807, he was the last Mexican Governor. His large part in California affairs, both before and after the Mexican War, would supply material for an extended discourse. Suffice it to say here that he and his brother, Andreas, were rated among the wealthiest men in California, owning thousands of leagues of land and vast herds of cattle, and were active in public affairs. Andreas Pico led the Mexican force at the battle of San Pasqual, where the American army received its most serious defeat of the Mexican War. Both Picos participated in the capitulation, and, following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, returned from Mexico, spending the rest of their lives in this state.

Although he never completely adopted American ways, and persisted in Spanish as his language, Pio Pico accepted the new government and deported himself as a good citizen. Genial and easy-going, unwise in the ways of business, given to extravagant personal adornment and good living, his later years were marked by litigation, much of which ended disastrously for him. His brother-in-law, John Forester, is credited with saying that if Pio did not have a lawsuit he would buy one and lose it. The melting away of his fortune was almost inevitable. He died at Los Angeles September 11, 1894, in comparative poverty.

Los Angeles in 1869

Built in 1869, the Pico House was, for its time, a stupendous project. Apparently conceived, financed, and built by Pico alone, in retrospect the enterprise seems almost foolhardy. The economic aftermath of the Civil War, soon to culminate in the panic of 1873, was rapidly spreading to the Pacific Coast. Los Angeles was accessible only by stagecoach, freight wagon, *carretta*, foot or horseback. The voyage between San Pedro and San Francisco required two days, and a good part of a third day was required to lighter from the steamer to Wilmington and stage to Los Angeles. Completion of the railroad to Wilmington was only a prospect. The three hotels, Bella Union, Lafayette, and United States, were more than ample for the limited demand.

The Plaza Area

Unfavorable conditions in the Plaza neighborhood may be judged by an item published the day following the hotel's opening:

An ornament and a disgrace. No one can inspect the magnificent outline of the Pico House without admiration and wonder. This is intensified by the repulsive aspect of the adjacent disgraceful Plaza, a filthy, neglected, tumbled down . . . eyesore.

Pico's home was on the Rancho Paso de Bartolo, commonly called the *Ranchito*, near what is now Whittier; his town house was and adobe facing the Plaza between Los Angeles and Sanchez streets. His brother-in-law, Jose Antonio Carrillo, lived in an *adobe* next door between Main and Sanchez Streets also facing the *Plaza*. This property became the site of the Pico House. The Carrillos had lived there since 1821. It is described in the title as being "near where the church is being built."

Los Angeles Street ended in a broad space at the Plaza utilized as terminus by livestock drovers and freighters, and to load and unload shipments to and from the mines and overland points as far away as Salt Lake City. The adjacent street frontage was naturally occupied by wholesale houses, cattle and hide dealers, blacksmith shops, wagon, harness and saddle makers, and kindred businesses. The neighborhood was also the gathering place for rough characters,

The Pico House

and the saloons and brothels of "Nigger Alley" became notorious as "the toughest place in the country." The Los Angeles *Star* of June 10, 1870, printed as news-worthy the fact that the previous day had passed without a murder.

Despite its noisomeness, important families still lived around the Plaza. The Carrillos had served California in the Mexican Congress, as Governors, as city *alcaldes*, and in other public capacities. The Lugo, Del Valle, Bolestero and Sanchez homes were east of the Plaza. To the north were the Olvera, Aguillar, Avila and other adobes. The Avila house will be remembered as Admiral Stockton's headquarters during the Mexican War.

At the head of Upper Main Street the Plaza Church was flanked by Guirado's store. It may be remembered by old timers for its strings of red peppers and dried abalones swinging in the clouds of dust swirling from the feet of oxen, mules, horses and humans, and the wheels of *carrettas* and wagons moving over the unpaved and unsidewalked street. A practically unbroken string of *adobes* with the familiar wooden canopy lined each side of Upper Main from Bellevue to Ord and Alpine Streets.

The City at Large

Conditions in the city at large were hardly more inspiring. Mr. Spalding, speaking as of 1872, tells us that all business was still north of First Street, along Los Angeles, Main, Commercial and Requena Streets, with a slight sprinkling on Spring Street. Private homes interspersed the business establishments.

Donna Mercedes Garcia was Carrillo's neighbor to the south. She married one of the Abbott brothers and built the Merced Theater. Vanity is said to have caused her to have it top by a few feet the monumental Pico House. Next door, Governor Downey later built the resplendent "Marble Front," which languished with the depression of the neighborhood. Then came the bar of Signoret, the barber. He will be remembered as leader of several lynchings which culminated at the Griffith and Tomlinson gate at New High and Temple Streets, used as a gallows.

Across Arcadia Street, in what had been the north wing of the Stearns Mansion, was Lips' wholesale liquor store. Stearns' widow

occupied the main part of the great *adobe*, with some of her nieces. She later married Colonel Baker of Baker Block fame. The main part of the Stearns *adobe* fronted on a spacious courtyard, and was some distance from Main Street. The south wing of the mansion had also become commercialized, being occupied by the "realtors" who later promoted Indiana Colony, now Pasadena. South of the Stearns' Mansion was the Bella Union Hotel, adjoining Ducommun's hardware store at the corner of Main and Commercial Streets. On Main Street, opposite the Bella Union, was the Lafayette, later called St. Elmo Hotel. The property was long owned by Jonas Jones, father of one time County Treasurer, Mark G. Jones, and of the late Mr. James Lankershim. The United States Hotel, at or near Main and Requena Streets, was I believe, being conducted by Hamel and Dunker.

Hotel Competition

Keenness of competition for hotel patronage after the opening of the Pico House may be gathered from current advertisements. The latter hotel boasted gaslight, and that it was the only hotel in town with bathrooms — one on each of the two upper floors. The town had no sewers. When the first wooden sewer pipe, emptying on a ranch near Tenth and Main Streets, was completed, the Pico House announced that "the odor of gas has completely disappeared since the building of the new sewer." The United States Hotel proudly said that it has "all spring beds"; the Lafayette confided that its "eating department is conducted with special care"; and the Bella Union that "every effort is being made to make guests happy."

When, to the general economic condition, is added the limited number of travellers and the fight for their patronage, the Pico House as a business enterprise seems most discouraging.

Construction of the Pico House

From an article in Number 2, Volume VIII of the *County Museum Quarterly*, by Walter E. Rothman, and from contemporary newspapers, we learn that Pico in 1869 sold his half of the land in San Fernando Valley for \$115,000; that he acquired from José An-

The Pico House

tonio Carrillo the Pico House site, and on September 18, 1869, started construction of the building.

The architecture is described as "Modern Elizabethan" and as "American Romanesque." It was the city's first three-story structure, and long remained an outstanding landmark. The plans were drawn by E. F. Kysor under the direction of Antonio Cuyas. The latter had reputedly been manager of the Barcelona Hotel in New York City; he became the first manager of the Pico House.

The main contract, signed September 4, 1869, was with Stoppenbeck and Switzer; Jacob Weyel was masonry contractor. The building's face was of brick, plastered and painted in imitation of light blue granite, with a wooden portico along the Main Street front. Brick sidewalks were installed on the Main Street and Plaza sides.

Interior Arrangements of the Pico House

Opening off Main Street entrance was a high-ceilinged lobby, with a double grand staircase joining midway at a landing with a great mirror. (There is an unverified story that Pico once walked through this decoration.) The lobby opened into a patio or court, where, we are told, there were "birds in cages (and) drooping vines and plants hanging down and over the galleries." There was also "a dumbwaiter for lifting baggage to the upper floors." The office, twenty feet by twenty-five feet, was flanked by a "reading room with Eastern and European journals." The bar, originally at the southwest corner, and later moved to what was at first the downstairs dining room at the northwest corner, was "the most luxurious in Los Angeles, and was entered from Main Street or the Plaza through nine double glass doors." The owner of the bar was Don Juan Cappe, referred to as "too old a citizen to need any flattery."

On the second floor, looking out on the court or patio on one side and the Plaza on the other, were two dining rooms, one reserved for families and children. At first seating ninety, they were enlarged to accommodate 130 guests. Also, on the second floor were "rooms usually arranged in suites," and "a public parlor richly furnished with two large chandeliers, where music was furnished

nightly." From the second floor gallery surrounding the patio there was a private entrance to the Merced Theater, "enabling guests to reach the boxes and take seats without going out in the street or mingling with the crowd."

An important innovation in 1873 consisted of "two high water tanks which supplied not only the kitchen, but the second and third floor bathrooms with running water." The public was assured that "the third floor is devoted exclusively to sleeping rooms, baths and water closets." Reports differ as to the number of bathrooms: some say there was one, other two, on each of the upper floors.

A rather ambiguous description in 1873 says that "on the second and third floors are bathrooms and water closets for both sexes, convenient of access and approachable in the strictest privacy," and that "the ladies' bathrooms have each a dressing room, richly carpeted and fitted up with all the little articles which the fair sex find necessary to use in making their toilet."

Pico House Opening *June 19, 1870*

The furniture arrived June 7th and the hotel was opened June 19, 1870. Cuyas and Albert Johnson were managers; George Pridham (apparently seduced from the Bella Union) clerk; one "Gregory, who needs no introduction," barkeep; and "French Charlie" Laugier, "Whose reputation extends from New Orleans to Los Angeles," steward. The first register, up to May 20, 1872, in the County Museum, shows twenty-five guests at the opening. We are told that one-third of the eighty rooms were engaged.

Characterized in the newspapers as "Los Angeles' leading hotel," and "the pride and glory of the town," its guests included not only persons of local prominence, but notables from abroad. Since only its first register is preserved, we are deprived of what would doubtless be an interesting and valuable contribution to Los Angeles history. A striking illustration of this void concerns the celebrated author, Sienkiewicz. He made a considerable stay in Los Angeles and is said to have written a least a part of his famous novel, *Quo Vadis* while living at the Pico House. Inability to verify this important item of literary history is unfortunate.

The Pico House

Pio Pico and the Pico House Fade into History

Apparently proceeds of Pico's San Fernando Valley property and additional borrowings were exhausted by the Pico House venture, for, on July 16, 1870, the Savings and Loan Association of San Francisco extended his existing notes and made further advances. Five years later, on July 16, 1875, Pico signed a new note for a balance of \$27,345. Interest not being paid, on July 21, 1880, the Pico House and other real properties were sold, apparently under execution. The hotel property brought only \$16,000. Many lawsuits, redemptions, and other proceedings ensued. Finally, a blanket mortgage covering all of Pico's properties, including Pico House, was foreclosed, leaving him, after prolonged litigation, practically penniless. B. Cohn, Francesca MacDougall Jesurun, W. J. Broderick and Laura Broderick and Charles Prager became owners of the Pico House property. Deterioration of the surrounding area and the hotel was progressive.

In 1897 the hotel was leased to that very estimable Italian citizen, G. Pagliano and his associate, G. Borniatico. About 1930 city authorities condemned the upper floors as physically and sanitarily unsafe. Cost of rehabilitation was prohibitive, and for a long time only the lower floor has been utilized. In 1930 Mr. Pagliano acquired the title, which he still owns. Various suggestions have been advanced for preservation of the property as a landmark. These have not crystallized.

The City Moves South

Not long after the opening of the Pico House a horse-car line was established from the Plaza via Main, Spring and Sixth Streets to Grasshopper or Pearl, now Figueroa Street; the city's transportation system was thus born, and the southern trek started.

With the successive "comings" of the Nadeau, Natick, Hollenbeck, Westminster and Van Nuys Hotels, the old Pico House, Bella Union (renamed St. Charles), Lafayette (renamed St. Elmo) and United States Hotels fell into disuse and decay." All have been out-distanced by the internationally famous hotels of the present day.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Names and landmarks associated with the Pico House area and times are a fundamental part of the great story of this remarkable city. They are being rapidly engulfed by freeways, the Union Depot, and Civic Center and other incidents of the march of time.

Unless enduring record is promptly made, these names and places will pass into the limbo of the forgotten. It is hoped that the *Historical Society of Southern California* will see that this does not happen.



The Dominguez Rancho

By W. W. Robinson

*A*mong California's interesting "firsts" is the Dominguez Rancho, perhaps oftener called Rancho San Pedro. It was California's first rancho.

With the earliest records of this rancho burned or incomplete, how do we know that the Dominguez was the first rancho, how do we know that Juan José Dominguez was California's first *ranchero*? The question is a good one for in Bancroft there are contrary and conflicting statements. Several sources back up my statement but the most important are the United States Land Commission records of another rancho — the San Rafael, site of Glendale. In 1936 I studied these records and found they showed Corporal José María Verdugo of the Royal Presidio of San Diego asking permission of Governor Fages to place cattle and horses upon the area that is now Glendale. As a precedent, Verdugo cited the revealing fact that Dominguez had already been given a similar permit and was about to move to San Pedro. This discovery was published in 1936. So we definitely know that the Dominguez concession was just prior to the Verdugo grant of October 20, 1784. The third concession or grant was to another Spanish soldier, Manuel Nieto, and its date was the next day, October 21, 1784.

In my opinion these three San Diego Soldiers, Dominguez, Verdugo and Nieto — the three musketeers, we might call them — all members of the same company, got together, ganged up on their hardboiled commander, Governor Fages, for whom they had performed long and loyal military service, and asked to be rewarded with ranchos.

Dominguez at this time was really ready for retirement from the army, for he was 65 years old. Like many other pioneers of the

Los Angeles area, he was a native of Sinaloa, Mexico. (His parents, we learn from historian genealogist Thomas Workman Temple III, were José Ygnacio Dominguez and Ana María Sepulveda.) He was a soldier member — a leather jacket — of the famous Portolá expedition of 1769. He knew what scurvy was like and he knew Indian fighting first hand.

Now, in the fall of 1784, with governmental approval secured, Juan José Dominguez celebrated his retirement by driving a herd of horses and 200 head of cattle to the San Pedro area where he had selected land that became the first rancho in California. "Life begins at 65," he must have said, and started his life as *ranchero*.

In the new location Dominguez built a house and several huts and corrals. They were on the slope of a hill overlooking the river. The river then was the San Gabriel, for many years would pass before the San Gabriel and the Los Angeles rivers traded channels. The old leather-jacket had to provide only for himself, his *Mayordomo*, and Indian helpers — the latter probably from the village of Suanga on the heights just back of the Inner Bay of San Pedro. The first Dominguez lived and died a bachelor, and I am sure that statement will not cause any present day members of the Dominguez family to want to tear me limb from limb. They know, of course, that their descent is through the nephew of Juan José.

For twenty years Juan José Dominguez lived on Rancho San Pedro, whose boundaries then were the river and the sea and, in the rear, the vague grazing areas of the pueblo. Thus it included all of what later was segregated into the Rancho Los Palos Verdes as well as the 43,000 acres of land that the United States finally surveyed as being within the San Pedro area. During these two decades the cattle of Dominguez increased in number, grazing upon the rolling land that stretched to the mud flats that became Wilmington and upon the hills rising back of San Pedro Bay. From his ranch this first *ranchero* could look toward a blue ocean and watch Spanish ships, foreign smugglers, and whales that spouted their steaming breath.

Dominguez lived the active life of a *ranchero* until he was 85. That included not only the pleasant phases but also having disputes with neighbors — principally his old buddy Manuel Nieto — over

The Dominguez Rancho

boundaries and over cattle and getting heavily into debt. At 85 he became blind and went to live with his nephew, Cristobal Dominguez, a cavalry sergeant of the San Diego Company then in command of the troops at Mission San Juan Capistrano. At this time his friend, Manuel Gutierrez, to whom Dominguez (or the governor) probably gave a right of occupancy or a life estate, took charge of the rancho. Early in the year 1809, at the age of 90, Juan José made his will — a most revealing document for like the wills of that time it showed what he owed and what others owed him. In listing various debts, he said, for example: "I declare that I owe Francisco Avila fifteen dollars and fifty cents and one white face mule that grazes on my rancho and belongs to the said gentleman." When the will was made he signed it with a cross. Shortly afterward he died. Cristóbal Dominguez, nephew and heir, a man with a sergeant's small pay and large family, became the owner of the Dominguez Rancho. Gutierrez, who, according to early records, paid off the *rancho's* debts, remained in possession. Cristóbal died in 1825, having had the satisfaction of owning a ranch but not working it. His will, leaving the rancho to his children, was a thesis on his ownership and was signed for him before witnesses by his 22-year-old son, Manuel. So enters into our story this strong and able young man, who took over the management of the ranch and ultimately became its principal owner.

Manual built an adobe home on the ranch for himself and his steadily increasing family. He was a good manager and became one of the great cattlemen of Southern California. He participated in Los Angeles affairs, was a member of the council, *alcalde*, judge, territorial representative, and when the United States took over, was a delegate to the first Constitutional Convention at Monterey. Moreover, he had six good looking daughters and presently he had sons-in-law — among them George Carson, James A. Watson, John F. Francis, and Dr. Del Amo. I like to quote what Ranger Horace Bell had to say of Don Manuel. Bell ought to know for he was one of the suitors for the hand of the lovely María Dolores Dominguez and was a frequent guest at the Dominguez home. This is what he wrote:

On the coming of the American the broad doors were thrown open

at the Casa Dominguez, and a hospitality was dispensed that was baronial. With the genial Dr. John Brinckerhoof as interpreter and master of ceremonies, the balls, entertainments and company at the Dominguez house were of the best in all California. It is safe to say that Don Manuel has not an enemy among the thousands who know him; honored and beloved by all.

Unlike most of the Spanish Californian ranch owners, Manuel Dominguez seemed to be able to hold on to his land. Of him Bell said that he stood almost alone "as a sturdy oak midst the desolation around him, all of his contemporaries having bowed, bent and fallen before the storms of adversity." When he died in 1882 he left the ranch intact except for the Wilmington and other smaller portions he had sold and deeded.

Today many thousands of people own the 43,000 acres of Dominguez Rancho, though the Dominguez heirs have retained substantial holdings. A network of highways crosses the land once grazed by the cattle of *rancheros*. The area has been subdivided and re-subdivided. It has sprouted with homes, business centers, oil derricks. Cities have risen on the old rancho — and we at once think of Redondo Beach, Torrance, Gardena, Compton and Wilmington.

Wilmington has a special link for us with rancho days. Most of the town was within the 2,400 acres which Manuel Dominguez sold in 1854 to a group of prominent Angelenos. Phineas Banning, already famous for his Los Angeles-to-San Pedro stage line, bought into the Wilmington area and took the lead in planning a town and a new terminal for his freighting and transportation business. Not satisfied with that, he imported the first locomotive to be used in Los Angeles County, unloaded it at his dock, and completed a railroad line between Wilmington and Los Angeles. Late in 1869 that little locomotive and its train came chugging into Los Angeles and up Alameda Street to thrill the crowds lined alongside. Among them was a very small girl perched high on the saddle of her father's horse. Seeing the fire-breathing monster approach, she dropped to the ground and safe behind a hedge watched Los Angeles' first train go by. Oh, yes, the little girl was Mary Foy.

EDITORIAL NOTE: "*The Dominguez Rancho*" was a talk given by Mr. Robinson September 24, 1953, on the occasion of the annual *First Century Families' Luncheon*, presided over by Miss Mary Foy.

Ducommun and San Diego

The Story of a City and a Firm That Helped Build It

By John E. Baur

THE BEGINNINGS



THE STORY OF the Ducommun Metals and Supply Company, Southern California's oldest still-existing firm, begins in Los Angeles in 1849. It was in the year of the Gold Rush that Charles Louis Ducommun arrived here. This twenty-nine-year-old expert watchmaker, born in France and reared in Switzerland, had come to America as an almost penniless immigrant. He had tried his luck and learned the English language first in New York City, then in Augusta, Georgia, and Mobile, Alabama. There, to add to his misfortunes, a bout with smallpox robbed him of the use of his right eye and turned young Ducommun's life into a constant test of courage.

When gold was discovered in California, he decided to go west for health as well as wealth, and setting out from the supply post at Fort Smith, Arkansas, the Swiss immigrant began an adventure at which historians still marvel. This journey, *via* the Staked Plains of Texas, Santa Fe, and the dreaded Gila River Valley, led his famous party through deserts that proved fatal to the weak and an unforgettable nightmare to all. Finally, in mid-August, 1849, he and his starving party reached Warner's Ranch in San Diego County and saw their promised land. A few days later, on the beach at San Diego, Bayard Taylor, noted American man of letters and a famous commentator on the gold rush, saw these men, Ducommun among them. They were:

lank and brown "as the ribbed seasand" — men with long hair and beards, and faces from which the rigid expression of suffering was

scarcely relaxed. They were the first of the overland emigrants by the Gila route, who had reached San Diego a few days before. Their clothes were in tatters, their boots in many cases, replaced by moccasins, and, except their rifles and small packages rolled in deerskin, they had nothing left of the abundant stores with which they left home.¹

The captain of Taylor's ship took Ducommun and his fellows aboard, and there they told of the terrible hazards of the "Great Desert" west of the Colorado River. "Scorching and sterile" was the land, a devilish realm of burning salt plains and shifting hills of sand, with animal bones as the only dreary landmarks. Some day a part of this area would be the fertile Imperial Valley, but now it only brought forth stories which to Bayard Taylor "sounded more marvelous than anything I had heard or read since my boyish acquaintance with Robinson Crusoe, Captain Cook, and John Ledyard."

Charles L. Ducommun went on to Los Angeles where he soon set up his watch repair shop in a tiny adobe at Main and Commercial streets. The next few summers were spent north in the mines of the Mother Lode, where Ducommun made enough to increase his store's stock. In a few years his business offered for sale every type of jewelry as well as hardware, paper goods, the region's first schoolbooks, and miners' supplies. He even sold 100,000 cigars, and kept candy, liqueurs, and large supplies of shingles in stock. Soon, Ducommun could advertise that one might find anything from "an anchor to a pin" at his place, and more than one townsman bet his doubting friends that a customer literally could do so. On one of these commercial "scavenger hunts" a bettor actually got from Merchant Ducommun the preacher's pulpit he sought.

Ducommun supplied Southern California farmers and ranchers with their needed equipment. As he began business, this area was called condescendingly the "Cow Counties," due to its predominance in cattle raising. Ranchers from San Diego came north to buy goods from Ducommun, and the old Spanish Californian families called him Don Carlos or "Señor Doocomoon."²

Before 1870, San Diego and Los Angeles promised little or nothing for an imperial metropolitan future. They were isolated, without railroads, boasting only scanty populations, and offering

Ducommun and San Diego

little but climate, and in the fortunate case of San Diego, a potentially great commercial harbor. In the 'fifties Indian attacks were possible in the area, though badmen were more feared. Ducommun, like his San Diego counterparts, joined semi-official citizens' groups for defense. Better yet, he supplied Los Angeles County with manacles for the desperadoes and was once instrumental in capturing the outlaw Moreno through identification of a gold watch he had stolen. Fires were frequent in both towns. Ducommun was a leader in Los Angeles' first volunteer group of fire laddies, later disbanded for lack of equipment. In San Diego, as late as 1868, the citizens' water still came from shallow wells, and it was hauled by oxtteams from the San Diego River, near Old Town, which was then the only settlement in the vicinity. One had to pay \$1.00 to \$1.50 per barrel for water, depending on the distance carried. According to one pioneer, first they boiled it, then they strained it, and then they boiled it once more; after that they drank something else³. In Los Angeles then, water was delivered from door to door by a colorful water bearer known as "Bill," who trudged along in his high hip boots and his mustachios were almost long enough to meet their tops, but this water was pure, though the river was said not to have enough water above ground to dampen a grasshopper's bunion. Still, good water or not, Charley Ducommun, like good San Diegans, occasionally "drank something else," too.

In the 'fifties, San Diego's commercial activity was pretty much limited to general stores, such as Ducommun's. Hide and tallow trade, similar still to that which Richard Henry Dana had described at San Diego in his *Two Years Before the Mast* (the most widely read book ever written about California) continued, while the growing flocks of sheep stimulated an expanding wool trade. Lieutenant George Derby, called by some an original genius and the founder of a new school of American humor, arrived in San Diego at this time, assuming the pseudonyms "John Phoenix" and the "Veritable Squibob." Here he wrote humorously of his "Sandy Ague," saying that "there are seven stores or shops in the village, where anything may be obtained from a fine-toothed comb to a horse-rake." The town's 700 citizens had erected about 100 buildings, some of wood, but "mostly of the adoban or *Gresan* order of

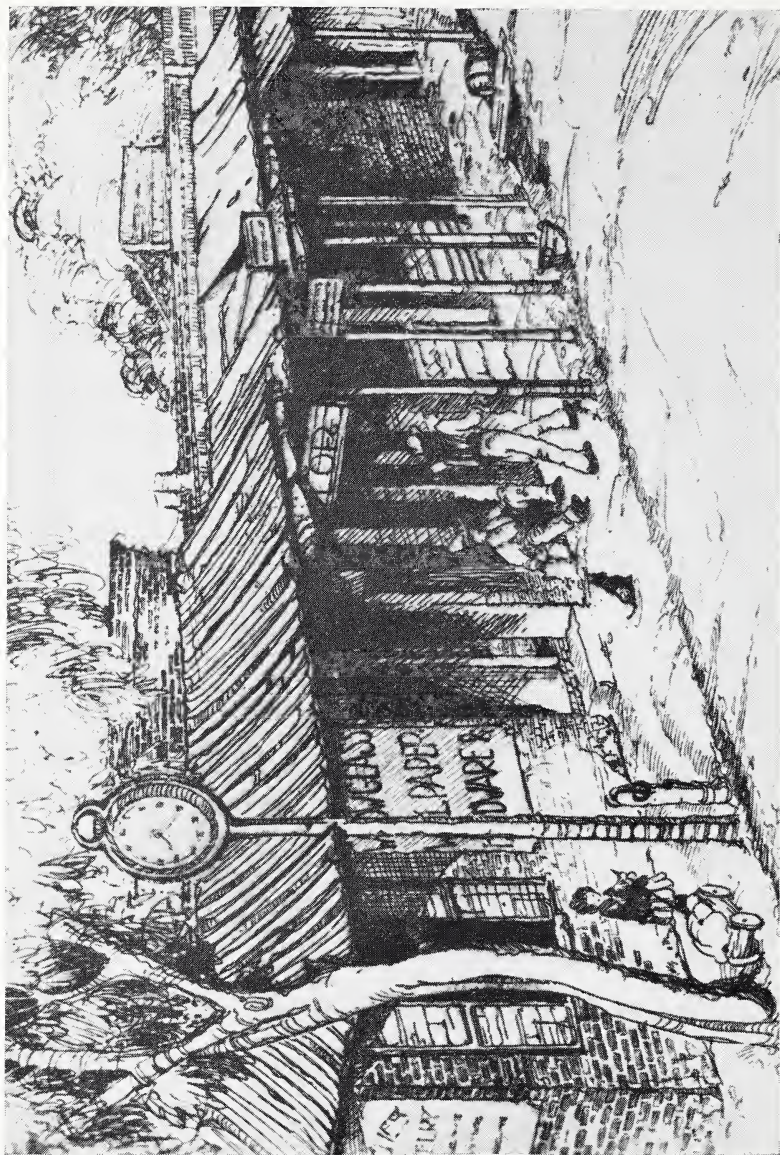
architecture" — the building stuff from which and in which Ducommun's business was born. In 1850, the whole of San Diego County had only 798 persons, of which the "city" claimed 650; by 1860, the county had grown to 4,324, and in 1870 to 4,951. The first county assessment roll, in 1850, showed the taxable property valued at a total of \$577,258, of this ranch land came to \$244,281 and the ten stores were listed at \$65,395. Yet already the little town was a busy midget. Southern California's second newspaper, the *San Diego Herald*, was founded May 29, 1851, only a few days after the *Los Angeles Star*, Ducommun's chief means of formal advertising. A military reservation was created at Point Loma in February, 1852, a public school was opened at Old Town on July 1, 1854, and 1857 saw two important "firsts" — the building of the schooner *Loma*, first ship constructed in San Diego and the beginning of a great shipbuilding tradition, and on August 31, the first overland mail reached town. Its driver, James E. Mason, was so impressed by the pueblo that he stayed on to help San Diego grow.⁴

Today's industrial activity in San Diego dates its ancestry to 1846, when the Mormon Battalion, which came overland with Stephen Watts Kearny to help conquer California, camped in San Diego. To keep busy and make spending money, members of the battalion built a bakery, burned bricks, made log pumps, and dug the first coal found on Point Loma. These first American "industrialists" did not "paint the town red" — instead they dutifully whitewashed the whole adobe village. In 1853, Louis Rose's tannery was opened.⁵ The first real factory in the region, it contained twenty bark vats, six lime and water vats, two cisterns, and an adobe house for currying leather. He processed more than 3,500 hides a year and sold \$8,000 worth of leather at San Francisco that first fall.

By 1859, a triweekly stage line was operating between Los Angeles and San Diego via San Juan Capistrano. With better communications to the south, Charles Ducommun's business activities expanded. As was natural, California's first great metropolis, San Francisco, was both Los Angeles' and San Diego's best customer and source of supplies. Both towns bought either from the Golden Gate city or directly from the east. It was logical, too, with such limited



CHARLES LOUIS DUCOMMUN



FIRST DUCOMMUN STORE

From this adobe, located at the corner of Main and Commercial Streets in Los Angeles, Charles L. Ducommun founded a firm this has been in continuous operation through the entire American period of Los Angeles history.

Ducommun and San Diego

markets, small populations, and little variety of goods to sell, that Southern California's few towns would tend to become rivals. Still, by 1870 Ducommun was selling fairly regularly as far south as San Juan, while San Diego ranchers continued to venture north to buy his goods of noted quality and amazing variety. His proverbial honesty and integrity in the Los Angeles area were, of course, Ducommun's best advertisement there as elsewhere. Ducommun had become fully acquainted with ranchers' wants, and with his mechanical ability, he invented and patented in 1888 an ingenious orange picker.

The 'seventies saw many changes in Southern California. For the first time a wise man could have seen the possibilities and perhaps the vague outline of San Diego's and Los Angeles' economic destiny. Both little cities had their first real estate boom, and isolation began to end, though provincialism as yet did not. In this time, too, Charles L. Ducommun built one of Los Angeles' first modern business blocks, on the site of his first store; he began to specialize in hardware and miners' supplies rather than jewelry and general items; and at last he became Los Angeles County's seventh wealthiest man, as he had long been one of its most respected citizens.

A dream and a realization of riches came to San Diego about the same time. In 1867, a Connecticut Yankee, Alonzo E. Horton, had arrived in town. Though in his fifties and with years of California mining and business experience behind him, he had youthful dreams and unbounded energy and courage. Horton foresaw a great city by the bay, a southern San Francisco, which would be a trading center for the whole world. He recognized immediately that Old Town, located northeast of the present city's nucleus, had kept San Diego from growing. Further retardants were the very poor water supply and the lack of sea frontage. Therefore, only a month after his arrival, on May 10, 1867, he paid \$267 for land on which to found his New San Diego. That day he became father of a modern city. Sixteen days later, the board of trustees set aside 320 acres of this land for another of Horton's dreams, a great city tract, Balboa Park, one of the world's greatest civic parks.⁶ In 1869, the pioneers began construction. San Diego established a post office and its first fire department. Within a few months its Chamber of

Commerce was established with Aaron Pauly as president. In 1870, Horton opened his Horton House, costing \$150,000 and offering 100 rooms. It was one of Southern California's best hotels for some years. Still, conditions were primitive that year. The new business center had been designated by clearing away the brush, though there were yet no sidewalks. Visiting Indians from the back country and the trusty pack burros were more often seen on the landscape than the weekly San Francisco steamer and its passengers.⁷

This steamer had caused hard feelings in Southern California. Charles Ducommun had joined other leading Angeleno merchants to protest the high rates charged on goods sent south. They threatened to buy a ship and establish their own coastwise line, but unexpected relief prevented that. Alonzo Horton of San Diego was foremost in achieving cheaper transportation. He forced Ben Holladay, famous overland stage tycoon, to reduce freight rates from a skyhigh \$15 a ton from San Francisco to San Diego by having George F. Wright and his steamer the *William Taber* carry freight in opposition at a mere \$9.00 per ton and passengers at \$30 a round trip, just half Holladay's fare. To get back his extensive business, the hard-headed but outsmarted Holladay had to agree in writing never to raise his rates, and he paid Wright \$100,000 to go out of business. Naturally, this freight rate reduction tremendously helped Los Angeles and Charles Ducommun.⁸ By December, 1870, a daily mail had been established between the two towns. Horton built a needed wharf to develop the great natural harbor, donated lands for churches, a courthouse, and a public square. Now the city began to thrive. By 1871, San Diego had over 3,000 people, and its main business streets were lined with one- and two-story buildings for nine blocks. Wages were high while lots advanced from \$250 to \$500 and then to \$1,000. Old Town did not long remain a competitor to New Town, for on April 20, 1872, it was swept away by fire, and New Town became indeed San Diego. Ever afterwards this was called the "Year of the Awakening." The *San Diego Union* had become a daily under Douglas Gunn, later mayor, and an able local booster, while the city had two commission houses, two milling stores, seven hotels, three lumber yards, three fancy drygoods establishments, a couple of furniture stores, a pair of tinware shops,

Ducommun and San Diego

two bookstores, five livery stables, two fruit stores, a single bank, twenty-three saloons. General merchandise stores were next in number — twenty of them proved the town still semi-rural, but a couple of steam planing mills showed that it would yet become a living, modern city. Like Charles Ducommun, who invested in Los Angeles' water developments, San Diegans were always concerned with their irrigation problem. Fortunately, soon the San Diego Water Company struck an artesian flow in Balboa Park, and two reservoirs were supplying 54,000 gallons of pure water per hour.⁹ Meanwhile, the newly-built business houses and homes followed the natural curves of the bay, occupying four miles of space and then spreading a mile in from shore as they covered the lower areas and even climbed the barren hills.¹⁰

This was a time for predictions. In this respect even settled merchants became commercial stargazers. Charles Ducommun had settled in Southern California for its climate and because he felt it had a unique future. Now, in 1870, as San Diego came alive, an optimist whose prediction was somewhat delayed in realization but nonetheless accurate, wrote:

When, then, the coast railway—*manifest destiny*—shall bring in the wealth of San Bernardino and Los Angeles counties, and the transcontinental drop the riches of Arizona and New Mexico at the Bay, and wise men of the East shall be seeking *there* beauty, health, and life, will it not be said that San Diego is “no mean city?” A day! and a thirsty land shall be clothed in living green; and a sterile wild shall be giving forth her fruits every month.¹¹

Another prophet went still farther, but today he seems a cautious hedger:

Probably as many branches of industry may be as advantageously pursued in San Diego as can be in any other place in America. From what has been accomplished in the last five years, we are sure of the possibilities of the future. Time, capital and energy, if wisely applied, will produce comforts and luxuries not excelled by any portion of the earth.¹²

At the time, with human weakness, Angelenos, despite their own business boom from the Inyo mines and the prospect of the Southern Pacific line, were jealous of San Diego. Ducommun, who never in his long career publicly belittled a competitor, but rather strove to improve upon him, might have written the following. He

certainly must have agreed with it. Said the *Los Angeles Star* on May 29, 1873:

If they [San Diego and other Southern California towns] are prosperous, we cannot be left far behind. If San Diego is plethoric with men and money, we will be benefitted thereby. If its harbor is filled with shipping, it will be a market for the "Back country," and even then we can participate in its prosperity. The short and the long of the argument is this — no neighboring town can be populous, prosperous, progressive, without our reaping some benefit therefrom.

Still, this boom was based more on hope than sound realization. San Diego needed a railroad and its gift of nationwide communications. Tom Scott of the Texas Pacific seemed to offer that rail connection and commercial salvation for San Diego in 1871. Grading began, and the population rose to 3,000 by 1872, but with the collapse of Jay Cooke and Company, the prominent eastern financiers, Scott's and San Diego's master dream caved in too. Not until 1883 did the city get a connection *via* Colton on the Southern Pacific line, but even then a storm washed it out for more than a year, and when reopened the line was shifted northward.¹³ The economic and psychological results of this fiasco meant that San Diego's population once more declined. By 1875, there were only 1,500 disappointed inhabitants with soured memories of a boomtime maximum of 5,000.

But San Diego in her most frenzied age of ups and downs kept tough hope alive. Mining was one activity that boosted and made solid her many dreams. In February, 1870, gold quartz mines were discovered near M. S. Julian's 160-acre holding forty-three miles from San Diego. Immediately a mining district was organized, quartz crushing mills erected, and a small-scale gold rush came to Southern California. New towns, too, sprang up, among them Julian and those of the rugged Banner district.¹⁴ Now began Charles L. Ducommun's first comparatively large-scale commercial relations with San Diego County. Familiar with metals all his life as a jeweler, he had become an expert on ores during gold rush days. Ever since then he had made good profits by buying silver and gold ore from Southern California's scattered but energetic miners. It is estimated that between 1852 and 1874 he purchased over two

Ducommun and San Diego

million dollars worth of gold dust, a good share of it from San Diego County, the rest from the Inyo area, the San Gabriel mines, and the Colorado River diggings. As early as May, 1870, he purchased gold-bearing rock from the newly discovered Santa Isabel ledge near Julian.¹⁵ This type of trade he continued until the month of his death in 1896. By the 'nineties, Ducommun's other service to San Diego's miners, selling them equipment, allowed the firm to boast in 1898 that "I carry the best assorted line in Southern California." His lengthy ads certainly proved it. Long before that old Charley Ducommun had invested in Southern California gold mines, an interest he maintained and which his son, Charles A., continued.

While mining broadened San Diego's economy and became Ducommun's chief non-hardware staple, mercantile giants who would shape local destiny became active again to the south. The Kimball brothers, Frank and Warren, arrived from Oakland, bought the National Rancho, a Spanish grant of 22,000 acres, and laid out National City.¹⁶ The National City match factory soon was developed as one of their enterprises, and they planned a marble factory. Meanwhile, Frank Kimball managed the new Otay watch factory, which he had rescued financially. In the 'nineties the new settlement had grown in a few months into a town of 200 inhabitants, 50 houses, and a wharf — today it has a population of 26,832.

THE BOOM AND THE BUST

The Elegant Eighties in Southern California were even more glamorous in booster's speculative schemes than in the glorified building programs that resulted, for this was the age of the Great Boom. It was the moment when Los Angeles and San Diego saw an end forever to isolation and were advertised for the first time to the whole world. The tourist trade, which would help spoon-feed Los Angeles and San Diego for some years, also began to develop at this time. In 1876, Los Angeles had been connected by rail with San Francisco, and eleven years later the Santa Fe line tied it to the east. For San Diego these were wonderful days, too, for on November 21, 1885, the long-sought rail connection with the rest of America was achieved when the Santa Fe brought its first train into the city. The shiny new iron rails and the noisy rate war that followed made the whole nation Southern California-conscious

and the boom was on. While Los Angeles paved its first muddy streets, built the West's first crematorium, opened "elegant" horse-car lines, and claimed itself to be the best (electrically) lighted city on earth, San Diego was not far behind in bluster or in building. Its first horse-drawn streetcars began operation on Broadway on the Fourth of July, 1886. Since March, too, it had enjoyed Edison's greatest invention, and soon electric streetcars connected San Diego with historic Old Town. With the coming of the next new year, the National City and Otay Railroad, a steam line, began operation. Before long, the Santa Fe Railroad and the National City and Otay were frequent purchasers of Ducommun metals and hardware items.

Charles L. Ducommun was wary of this boom from the first. He had great faith in Southern California, but this faith was based upon rock, not soapbubbles. His policy, too, had always been never to invest heavily in real estate but rather in public utilities, firm businesses, banks, and mines. New towns were being laid out in dry river beds, at the bottom of the ocean, and on craggy cliffs, while others were planned for desert sites and similar unwatered acreages. Eastern tenderfeet would invest, but it seemed that no old timer could. Still, the boom excitement, like all mass hysteria, was highly infectious, and before it ended it had conquered many sound local businessmen. Ducommun, always cautious, had none of it, but he did good business with the boom's more lasting side, the building of new business blocks and homes in Los Angeles, in particular, but also in San Diego and throughout Southern California. During the Boom of the Eighties, architects, carpenters, and other builders stood in line outside his expanding store to purchase materials.

In San Diego, the hammering kept time with the clink of gold coin and feverish bidding. During 1885, for instance, 219 new business and residence buildings were erected in the city; they cost \$769,000.¹⁸ That magic year the railroad had arrived. Within a twelve-month-period there were 340 business firms and professional men in town, and by 1887 the number had increased to a surprising 957. Property within the city limits had meanwhile jumped (1887-1888) from a value of \$4,582,213 to \$13,182,171.

Inflation was widespread, from San Diego to Los Angeles and

Ducommun and San Diego

Santa Barbara. A San Diego dirt shoveler of the time got \$2.00 to \$3.00 daily, while brick layers earned about \$6.00. As in Los Angeles, new "additions" appeared everywhere. One was in the sandy bottom of the San Diego River, and two extended blindly into the marvelous bay. Then came the collapse. By the summer of 1888, San Diego had lost 10,000 people and \$2,000,000 in bank deposits. Two million dollars worth of property was under construction.¹⁹ Los Angeles, too, for the first time in its history, lost population, about 20,000 in all.

For San Diego, as with Los Angeles, the decline was not permanent. Especially in San Diego's case the bad effects were very limited and short-lived. There was no long, eight-year dull period as after the unforgotten Tom Scott fiasco. Already the city was progressing again. By the fall of 1888, there were evident improvements. The California National Bank began once more and was liberal in its loans. Those vast improvements contracted for during the boom were in most cases continued. New business blocks and two hundred costly homes in Florence Heights appeared. Coronado was a golden word in those clouded days, just as it is still something to brag about. Elisha Babcock, another practical dreamer on the Alonzo Horton model, helped build San Diego. He came to the area and planned across the bay a healthy, beautiful resort area with the world's biggest and best hotel. Thus the Coronado Beach Company was born and a million dollars subscribed for the project. In 1887, construction began, and Ducommun ledgers show that even this early, Charles L. Ducommun was selling building supplies to the new company. Despite the slump of 1888, faith kept the project going, and on February 1, 1888, the fabulous and unique Hotel del Coronado was formally opened.

Elisha Babcock was only a beginning for the new era in San Diego. Its prime mover was John D. Spreckels. One July day in 1887, this scion of Claus Spreckels' sugar empire sailed his yacht, the *Lurline*, around Point Loma on a pleasant summer cruise. He made port in the boomtime city only for provisions, but Spreckels was 34, keenly ambitious, and had immense capital to put to work, and when the eager city fathers offered him a port franchise, he

was conquered by San Diego and its promises. He, too, was farsighted. He foresaw the need of a good water supply, adequate transport facilities, sufficient banking resources, and industrial enterprise, tied in with wise and progressive agricultural development in the back country. Spreckels' first move was the Spreckels Wharf, where coal bunkers were built to supply San Diego's only railroad with the outside world. The Spreckels warehouse was three hundred feet long, fifty feet wide and eighteen feet high, the exterior of redwood and the roof of galvanized, corrugated iron. The Spreckels Brothers Development Company could store 4,000 tons of wheat there. When the Santa Fe was about to leave the region for lack of coal and transport for it, the coal bunkers saved the line, providing local industry with fuel, and made Spreckels dream on to further accomplishments. When the boom had burst in mid-1888, Spreckels further saved the Santa Fe by furnishing its coal on credit. Just as Babcock's grandiose dream, the Hotel del Coronado, appeared about to sour into a nightmare, Spreckels bought into the Beach Company and soon had a controlling—and saving—interest in it. Within five years he and his brother were the sole owners. Babcock had also commenced the Otay Dam, which the two Spreckelses also saved. Now John Spreckels began to move fast in a large way; he built the Morena Dam even before its 14,000,000-gallon capacity was needed, erected the Union Bank Building Block on Broadway, the Spreckels Theater, and the San Diego Hotel. With his improved and extended trolley lines—again all early and continuous Ducommun patrons—he opened up new residential areas, such as Loma Portal, Inspiration Heights, Mission Hills, Burlingame, Golden Hill, Ocean Beach, Brooklyn Heights, and Hillcrest. For journalism he developed the *Union* and the *Tribune*.²⁰ During the 'nineties and for more than a decade after, the Spreckels Brothers Development Company was a frequent and important Ducommun customer, and Ducommun's supplies continued to help Spreckels develop his chosen region.²¹

As the Gay Nineties began and San Diego spurted forward, Charles L. Ducommun's hardware and mining supplies continued to grow. In the late 'eighties he had moved again to larger quarters. San Diego's expanding population demanded more and more the reliable wares of suppliers like this pioneer merchant. John Schuy-

Ducommun and San Diego

ler, an Oceanside rancher, might come up to the Angel City for a calf weaner early in 1891, or H. S. Richards of El Cajon, like his ranching neighbors, would purchase and have sent C. O. D. a hydrometer, an article on which the mechanical-minded Swiss hardwareman was an expert. Meanwhile, M. Bohnert of a San Diego livery stable, frequently purchased clippers and tin clipping heads.²² Not yet had Ducommun begun to advertise itself as the "department store of Western industry," but it served small, middle-sized, and large merchants throughout Southern California. As the decade began, the Standard Iron Works, one of San Diego's earliest and largest industries and long Ducommun's best customer in that region, had begun shipping thirty-five tons of building castings to Seattle and elsewhere on the Pacific coast. For the first time, San Diego became an active competitor, a comparatively successful rival, of San Francisco in the iron trade.²³ From Ducommun materials and tools for these works produced castings, mining machinery, and smaller equipment to complement Ducommun's. Some was shipped to the newer Lower California mines which excited people for a time. The *Southern California Informant*, of San Diego, a local journalistic booster, exclaimed one day in July, 1889, "the San Diego bay region is destined to become one of the greatest manufacturing centers of the West," and explained that a "high railroad tariff" protected it from eastern manufacturers.²⁴ By 1895, the community had six banks, nine drygoods stores, thirty churches, and eight-three attorneys, and only two years later, with 19,335 people, had an assessed wealth of \$13,133,038.²⁵ The *San Diego Progress* trumpeted, "The city is growing like Jonah's gourd, and is as solid as the pyramids."²⁶

This was San Diego as Charles L. Ducommun had known it. By the time of his death at 76 from cancer on April 4, 1896 (he had worked until the day before), San Diego's later phenomenal growth was already grounded in admirable tradition. Between 1880 and 1890, it had grown 512%. Wheat, agricultural instruments, and machinery, fruits and nuts, iron and steel, and cement were the chief articles exported, and with these industrial articles, Ducommun metals and hardware already had some influence. A jetty, built with a government appropriation of \$60,000, soon would

preserve the channel depth at the great harbor's entrance. Three regular steamship lines, serving coastwise and foreign trade, regularly entered the harbor, while four railroads — all Ducommun customers from their beginning—traversed the county. The Sweet-water Dam, completed in April, 1888, had six billion gallons capacity.²⁷

THE NEW CENTURY

The Twentieth Century arrived in Southern California with more promises and *another* boom. For Ducommun Corporation, it was a transition era. The four sons of Charles L. Ducommun—Charles A., Alfred H., Emile C., and Edmund F.—had carried on in their father's tradition, as he had wished, but their mother was executrix of the estate. Then, in 1907, the company was reorganized and incorporated, members of the family becoming the sole stockholders. Soon afterwards, the firm slowly began to change over from general hardware and mining supplies to metals for industry. Symbolic of this was the firm's decision to move in October, 1910, to larger quarters on Central Avenue, providing a railroad siding for handling shipments. Ducommun Corporation had become the exclusive agent for several eastern firms, and in less than a decade the number of employees as well as the volume of sales trebled.

This was a time of momentous transition for Los Angeles and San Diego. The gigantic engineering feat of bringing water over two hundred miles from Owens River to allow Los Angeles to grow by the millions was accomplished by William Mulholland, 1905-1913. Henry E. Huntington's Pacific Electric Railway revolutionized urban transportation, while the Union Pacific arrived from Salt Lake City with a new line. Then, after a great political and economic fight, Los Angeles built and began to utilize her artificial deep-water harbor at San Pedro. In 1900, the city passed the 100,000 population mark. Many of the tourists, brought west on several ballyhooed tours, had decided to stay.

In San Diego, the great era of economic, political and social progress which has never yet ended, was under way. For a while, the panic of 1907 shook Ducommun, Los Angeles, and San Diego, but not seriously. That same year the federal government appropriated large funds for the naval coaling station at Point Loma.

Ducommun and San Diego

This was the beginning of ever greater federal military expenditures in this region, a destiny in which Ducommun's merchandise would share and profit. In November, 1911, San Diegans voted 40-to-1 for a million dollars worth of city bonds for a new pier system. As the era of new trade through the Panama Canal excited the citizenry, in 1912 San Diego building permits reached \$10,001,415, and the next year exceeded \$140 per capita—a ratio which the city challenged all other American communities to equal. No city in the United States had built so rapidly that year. Simultaneously, the Spreckels Theater and Spreckels' Hotel rose, and building permits were valued at \$1,596,859 in September. Naturally, Ducommun's hardware was supplying the local building trades, and Ducommun's San Diego customers seem to have about doubled at the time.

What specifically were these firms which Ducommun supplied and kept as customers? They were these same "foundries, machine shops, sash, door, and planing mills, lumber mills, furniture and fixture factories, metal, sash, and door factory, an oil refinery," which boosters were emphasizing in their endless promotional literature.²⁸ The Savage Tire Company had just completed a new factory in 1912. It produced the first automobile tire manufactured west of Chicago, and in these pioneer gasoline engine days, Ducommun salesmen called upon the firm.²⁹ The first salesman in the area was, in fact, the founder's son, Emile, who was active at this period.

About the turn of the century, San Diego became for the Ducommun Corporation its headquarters for the valuable Imperial Valley trade. When with great energy and gamble, the Imperial and Coachella Valleys were irrigated and their extensive and fertile agricultural potentialities developed in this century's first decade, Southern California business was stimulated by this new center of retail and wholesale consumption. Los Angeles and San Diego were, of course, the natural supplying points. Much earlier than that, however, Ducommun was selling scattered customers out in the Yuma area—some as early as the 1870's—and today Yuma is the easternmost end of Ducommun's rich San Diego sales territory. Ducommun listed about a dozen "garages" among its turn-of-the-century customers in the land of "Bay 'n Climate," and some of

them were of considerable value to both Ducommun and San Diego. This is because the garages of those days of the "horseless carriage" were not only headquarters for repairing automobiles but also contained small machine shops, which Ducommun hardware supplies and the firm's growing metal stock kept going.³⁰ The Campbell Machine Company, later so important in local industry, was established in 1906 as one of these auto repair shops, and in 1915 it moved to the waterfront where it began building its first tuna fishing boats, now diesel-powered. Campbell is today, as it has been almost from the start, a Ducommun customer.

Ducommun Corporation's goods found their way into every representative operation of San Diego's streetcar and railroad transit system, particularly for maintenance work supplies. The really big customers, however, were hardware companies, and San Diego's already modestly flourishing metals and lumber industries and infant boat building endeavor. For instance, the Hartwell Electric Company sold "electrical supplies and contracting . . . dynamos, motors, lamps, bells, wires, batteries." The Kessler Machine and Supply Company, long another Ducommun prize customer, was advertised as "automobiles storage and suppliers, best equipped repair shop. Machinery; complete pumping plants installed." Today, it is still active. The California Iron Works' proprietors described themselves as "general contractors for mining, milling, and machine work," and specialists in auto and gasoline work.³¹

A consistent buyer for about a generation was the San Diego Cycle and Arms Company, which sold bicycles, guns, ammunition, sporting goods, fishing tackle, golf, tennis, and baseball goods. Frank G. Kiessig was its competitor, also vying for Ducommun's best merchandise.

Sporting goods stores throughout Southern California, a region then quite largely dependent on tourists, were big Ducommun patrons at this time. When San Diegans wanted to boast of their industrial development, they were likely to point to the San Diego Sheet Metal Works, which the Ducommun firm knew well. It manufactured cornices, skylights, roofing, guttering, galvanized flue-tops and tanks. San Diego's faithful old Standard Iron Works,

Ducommun and San Diego

today's the city's fourth oldest manufacturing concern (Schiller Book Bindery, established in 1868, Western Salt Company, 1871, and Gasson Mill and Lumber Company, 1880, alone antedate it) was for decades a consistent buyer of Ducommun wares. The South-western Onyx Marble Company, established in 1920, became a Ducommun customer, too. The blades used for cutting onyx were the chief items purchased. Loring and Company, Inc., a stationery store, specialist in books and seller of typewriters, had three shops on Fifth Street. Its supplier, Ducommun, had begun in June, 1853, as Los Angeles' (and Southern California's) first circulating library. These were the big buyers of that age, but Ducommun's list of patrons included machinists like the three Sterne brothers, Joseph E. Jones of Oceanside's Irwin and Company, seller of agricultural implements, to the still predominantly ranching economy, and even Lawrence A. Weisser, a National City manufacturer of artificial limbs.³³ In that time as in this, Ducommun's files and ledgers mirror the trend of San Diego economy almost perfectly.

The period beginning with the First World War saw San Diego grow more and more into a manufacturing city, though it remained a city of residences, tourists, and retired people, and Ducommun representatives were always there to stimulate the growth with their thick catalogues. George Smith and later Bill Tesch carried on Emile Ducommun's salesmanship in the region.

In 1915-1916, San Diego had built a great world's fair in Balboa Park and was wise enough to erect beautiful Spanish-type buildings surrounded by appropriate gardens which would all remain permanently for the enjoyment of the citizenry, and could be used again in 1935 for the California Pacific International Exposition and in 1950 for the California Centennial. The Panama-California Exposition of 1915 was to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal, through which the first ship steamed in mid-August, 1914. This achievement, along with the recently completed Tehuantepec Railroad of Mexico, were expected to bring great wealth to San Diego and to all California. The canal fulfilled these hopes, but another technological and engineering development — the airplane — was to do even more to construct the area's larger destiny.

San Diego has been called the "City of Wings," and that is a perfect appellation. Climate fashioned and determined San Diego's unique greatness. The magnificent bay, rarely bothered by storms and large in capacity, brought foreign trade and the United States Navy, while a nearly perfect weather pattern lured aviation to this southwesternmost corner of the nation. John Montgomery, precursor of the more successful Wright brothers, made his airplane experiments in this vicinity in the 'eighties. Once man had sprouted artificial wings, San Diego followed through with a legion of "famous firsts." On January 26, 1911, Glen H. Curtiss made history by raising his hydroplane from San Diego Bay. Soon, San Diego's premiers of the air included:

The First:

Aerial photos, by Colonel H. A. "Jimmie" Erickson, January 10, 1911.

Loop-the-Loop, by Lincoln Beachey, 1913

Radio used in a plane, by Curtis and Martin, 1912.

U. S. Army air squadron organized, at Rockwell Field, 1914.

Official parachute jump, by Tiny Broodwick, at North Island, 1914.

Night flying, by Major T. C. Macauley, 1913.

Aerial bombing, by Riley T. Scott, 1914.

Two-way transcontinental squadron flight, 1918 (started and ended at San Diego).

Refueling in flight, by Smith and Richter, 1923.

Air circumnavigation of the globe, completed by Lts. Lowell Smith, Eric Nelson, and Leigh Wade, landing at San Diego, July 1, 1924.

Shenandoah, completing the first dirigible trans - Atlantic flight, arrived at San Diego, October 10, 1924.

San Diego was the first Pacific Coast city to draft an air ordinance, 1926.

San Diego had the first municipal board of air control in the United States, 1926.

First nonstop San Diego - Mexico City flight was by the

Ducommun and San Diego

famed Mexican Army pilot, Emilio Carranza, May 23, 1928.⁸⁴

The United States Army had established its aviation school at North Island in 1913. It began with only five airplanes, but such San Diego pioneers as Horton and the Kimballs had begun with even less matériel. Before long the army had established two special practice fields near Imperial Beach—Ream and East fields. Meanwhile, in the spring of 1912, the Navy Flying Corps had started a school, also on North Island, though in 1917 this was moved to Pensacola. C. W. Johnson, a visitor, viewed these aerial achievements in 1916, and although he was exceedingly pessimistic about San Diego's economic growth, based, he said, on tourists, climate, and boosting, he had to wonder at the fact that half a century before the land then occupied by the U. S. Grant Hotel had cost but twenty-six cents an acre. It led him to make a prediction that within twenty years—by 1936—there would be as many airplanes as there had been automobiles in 1911.⁸⁵

Then came the First World War, and San Diego was suddenly transformed into a great defense base. In 1918, an observer could write, "From a one-horse, purely experimental and mostly forgotten branch of our army's posts and schools, North Island at San Diego has been suddenly metamorphosed . . . into one of the greatest training schools in the world for aviators . . . The sky is full of pale yellow dragon flies, while the roar of the great eight-cylinder motors reaches over the business district."⁸⁶ This was but a modest stepping stone to San Diego's role in a later, greater global war, but already Ducommun was selling stout wire to the army to repair the fuselage of these "Jennies."

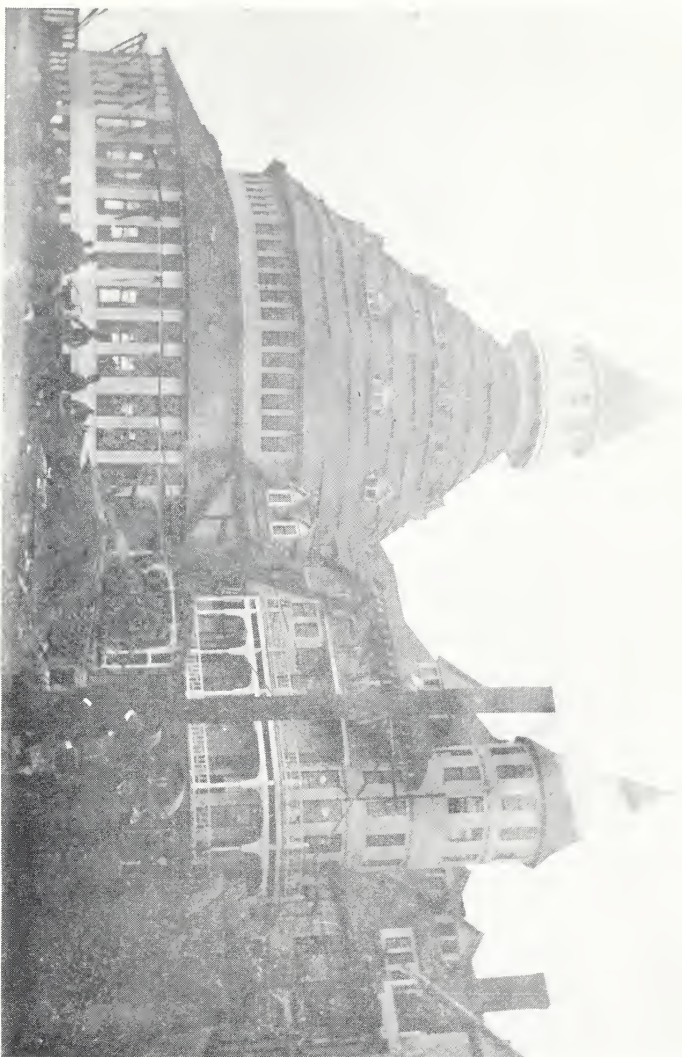
The war had proved San Diego's right to an air future. On July 17, 1919, North Island became official base for West Coast air activities. Then, in 1922, Claude Ryan, another young man with many plans but few dollars, came to town. With his savings he bought a war surplus Jenny at Rockwell Field for \$500 and with his remaining \$100 set himself up in the aircraft business. It is said that for more than a year he was general manager, office boy, pilot, and mechanic.⁸⁷ In the "Roaring Twenties" the Russell Parachute Company on Kettner Boulevard prospered, while Mrs. Carl

Oelze demonstrated the meaning of women's rights by running an aviation school and a commercial airport. The aircraft carrier Langley was meanwhile based at North Island.³⁶ Then, in 1927, when the young Mid-Western mail pilot, Charles A. Lindbergh, decided to fly the Atlantic, he went to San Diego, received his navigation training, and here the Ryan-Mahoney Corporation designed and assembled the *Spirit of St. Louis*. "Wrong Way" Corrigan was an employee of the firm.

Ducommun Corporation, a pioneer Southern California business, has been inevitably associated with unforgettable pioneers in other enterprises. While these trailblazing—or skyblazing—doings were going on in San Diego, the Ducommun firm was beginning to sell to aircraft manufacturers. Early in the 'twenties it won Ryan as a steady customer. In World War II this "old" San Diego firm produced a variety of light planes and trainers. The Solar Aircraft Company, established in 1928 and eventually a specialist in exhaust manifolds and aircraft cameras during the war, soon was buying metals from Ducommun. Today, its branch in National City is not far from Ducommun's new southern branch.³⁹

The Navy and San Diego seem inseparable, but this was not always so. The first battleships to enter San Diego Bay, the *Missouri*, *Ohio* and *Wisconsin*, sailed into the harbor July 28, 1915. A year and a half later, on January 27, 1917, the Navy began operating the most powerful radio station in the Western Hemisphere, at Chollas Heights. Things moved rapidly after that, and in March, 1919, the Marine Base was dedicated. By 1923 the Naval Training Station was officially commissioned. The Eleventh Naval District was established and the Naval Supply Depot founded. The United States Navy was Ducommun's — and San Diego's — chief customer in this area from the 'twenties to Pearl Harbor Day.⁴⁰ The Navy bought from the complete Ducommun line, starting about 1915, or so, and has done so ever since.

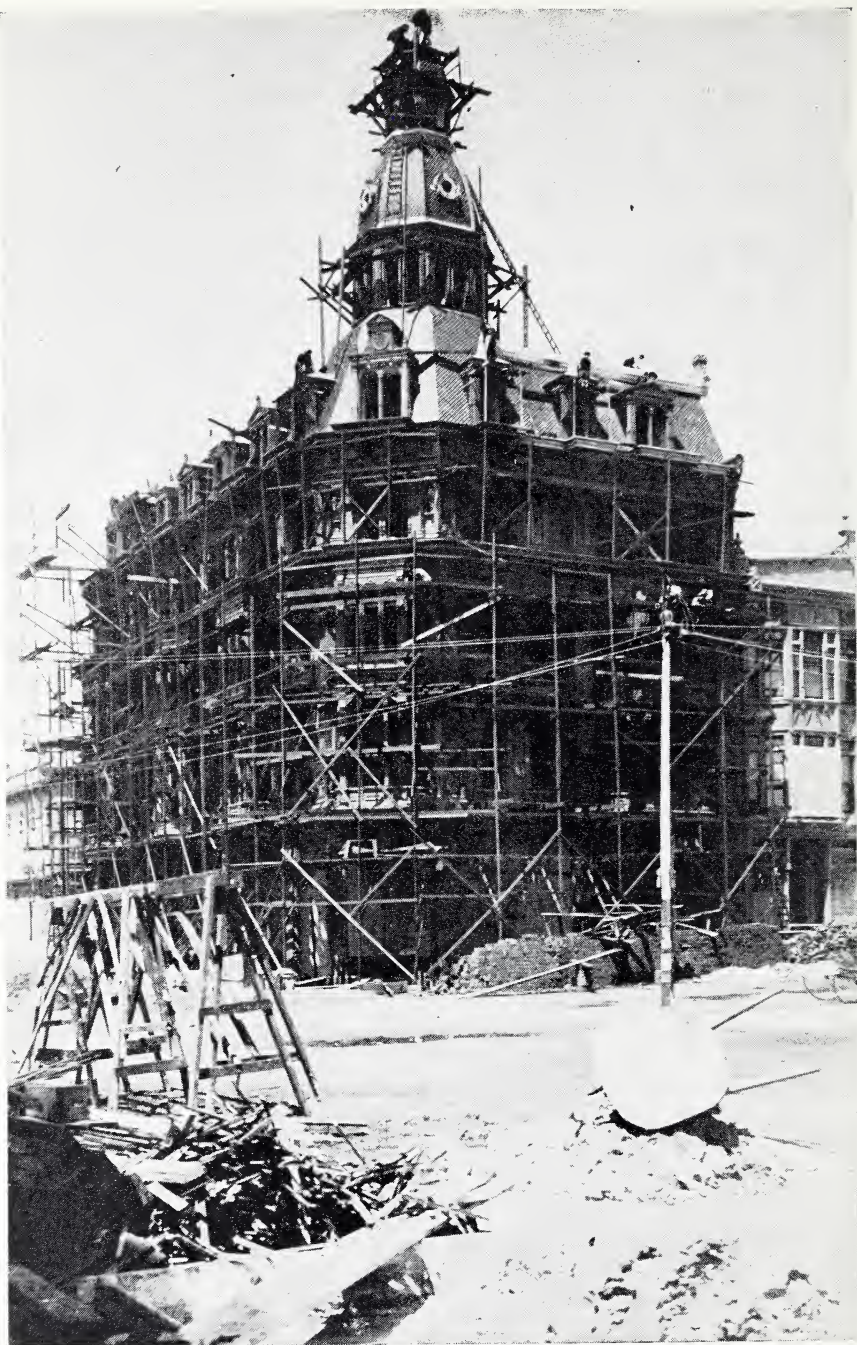
Seaborne as much as airborne, San Diego has grown rich as well as strong *via* the ocean. The tuna fishing industry and its seamen of many nationalities began in the area before the navy seaman had arrived. In 1909, a small cannery was opened at La Playa for sardines in olive oil. Then in 1911, Paul Eachus of San Pedro came



— From *Union Title Insurance and Trust Company Historical Collection*

HOTEL DEL CORONADO

In 1887, when this now famous hotel was under construction, the Ducommun firm furnished the building materials



— From Union Title Insurance and Trust Company Historical Collection

PIERCE - MORSE BUILDING, SAN DIEGO

Located at Sixth and F Streets, typifies the tremendous building boom of the 1880's during which Ducommun furnished a great amount of the building materials

Ducommun and San Diego

south, joined Louis J. Rice in the tuna business, and these two organized the Pacific Tuna Canning Company, starting a plant at the foot of F street. By 1919, they had merged with another firm, the pair becoming the International Packing Corporation.⁴² Activities soon expanded, and by 1942 San Diegans could claim that 70% of the fish caught in Mexican waters were landed in San Diego. In the 1940's a municipally-owned Fishermen's Wharf was built. Today, packers look forward to the unlimited opportunities of the quick-frozen fish market. Here again, Ducommun has played an important role. In its early days the canning industry began buying Ducommun's nonferrous items, copper and brass, in the era when little aluminum or alloys were used. The firm's copper and brass also went to run San Diego's pioneer breweries.⁴³ Allied with the fishing industry was boatbuilding—fishing boats predominating, and once more Ducommun filled the orders for the necessary materials—threaded products, tools, brass, and bronze.⁴⁴

Thus was San Diego modestly but substantially expanding, in dollars, in acres, in confidence, and in plans, when 1933 came. The tourist trade as well as the steady income of armed services personnel, had kept the economy stable and now would partially cushion against the depression. Small industries had grown up, buying Ducommun metals and supplies. Now with the Great Depression the keynote was economy and cutbacks. Credits were reduced with the public waistline.

Ducommun, too, was badly hit by the depression, for by now the large enterprise was dependent on national prosperity; it followed the business graphs almost consistently. The expansion program initiated in the optimistic 'twenties, with a new plant at Alameda and Staunton streets, Los Angeles, was cut as sales declined in 1930. Yet, like San Diego, Ducommun Corporation was always flexible, always in a period of transition, and ever ready to adapt itself to new conditions. These virtues had kept both alive. It had almost become a Ducommun tradition to extend liberal credit to customers. This was a risk, just as rapid expansion had been a perpetual risk for Ducommun. Both policies now had to be modified with wisdom and foresighted caution. The Ducommun management realized that some flexible credit must be given to hold and

increase the customers and sales so carefully and energetically built up. San Diego was a good risk. Its still adolescent aircraft industry held great promise.

That promise had been recognized, too, by Ned Price in 1928. He had visited San Diego during the world fair of 1915, seen the pioneer planes, those "yellow dragonflies," winging over the blue bay, and he had determined to return and become part of the changing, successful scene. As the new Lindbergh Field was being completed in early 1928 and San Diego foresaw itself the air capital of the West, it was the right moment. Price became connected with the Prudden-San Diego Airplane Company that year. In 1927, its first plane had been flown. In 1929, it was renamed and reorganized as Solar, and despite the depression, in January, 1930, Solar's first plane, the all-metal MS-1 was completed.⁴⁴ For the next few years, faith kept the company together, belief of stockholders, confidence of employees, and the abiding belief of one good supplier — Ducommun. In 1932, Price's vote in the Solar board of directors prevented his company from going out of business. At this time, a boost from Ducommun helped the firm keep its footing. Charles Ducommun extended a \$25,000 credit on stainless steel purchases. Then came an order — a \$25,000 order — from Boeing for 120 manifolds for its new 180 mph 247 transport, and the company was saved.⁴⁵ Edmund T. "Ned" Price tells it best in his own words:

We were at the lowest point in our credit rating and local suppliers in San Diego had refused to sell us anything except on a cash basis. Our needs for stainless steel sheet were mounting at that time, while Mr. Charles Ducommun, Sr. [Charles A. Ducommun], was alive, your firm was representing Republic Steel Corporation. We found this steel particularly suitable for exhaust manifolds and would buy a few sheets at a time when we could scrape up the cash. I explained the situation to Mr. Charles Ducommun, Sr., and he took the trouble to make a visit to San Diego to look over our meager machinery and to meet others who were helping me in the management of the business. I have never forgotten his remarks nor the implied compliment in his statement, which was: "From a physical and financial standpoint, you folks are not entitled to a dime of credit, but I think your moral risk is good, and I'll send you what you need. You can pay when you have collected from your customers."

It was that statement more than any other that got us started and I

Ducommun and San Diego

feel personally indebted to Mr. Charles Ducommun, Sr., and to your firm. Being a former credit man myself, I understand and appreciated the compliment as well as the actual aid.⁴⁶

Solar survived, just as Ducommun survived in many tight spots—because the moral risk was good and the practical faith was there. But survival was not enough, such courage never is satisfied with mere existence, and after all, living is growing. Like Ducommun, Solar has done both on a big scale. In 1927 its initial square feet were measured in one building — 10,000; by 1939 the plant covered 78,766, and today Solar extends over 20½ acres containing 494,000 square feet of factory; in its three plants it totals 1,149,000 square feet.⁴⁷

THE WAR YEARS

Solar's great expansion came during the Second World War, and tied in with the world's destiny was San Diego's and Ducommun's spectacular growth. True, only in Southern California and in Texas did city growth not stop during the depression years. This was only following a trend, for San Diego proper had nearly doubled its population every decade from 1910 through 1930; from 39,578 in 1910, 74,361 in 1920, and 147,995 in 1930. The growth of Imperial Valley, whose trade Ducommun and San Diego both tapped, had stimulated the earlier growth, as had better transport, the establishment of a naval base, the shipping industry, and the coming of Texas and Oklahoma migrants in the late 'thirties.⁴⁸ But this all was as nothing compared to the fast expansion of the "Fighting Forties." One writer, Frank J. Taylor, named the wartime phenomenon the "Blitzboom."⁴⁹ With the natural increase of armed forces personnel during the National Defense period (1940-December, 1941) and the coming of war with Pearl Harbor, the Navy had to undertake a new housing program in San Diego, and new army, navy and marine corps barracks spread over the area. Merchants' sales were soon up 15% to 50%, but there were many shortages, too. The gas company had to spend \$6,000,000 for new facilities, while the telephone service required new conduits for more than 10,000 new phones. The federal government bought 650 trailers, tied them with the San Diego light and water lines, and moved in defense

families.⁵⁰ Camp Callan and Fort Rosecrans expanded. The Navy repair shops for the Pacific Fleet were always busy.

From 1940 through 1945 the federal government spent \$15,000,000 on permanent public works for San Diego, while the city expended \$10,000,000. Thus 70% of a \$35,500,000 ten-year program was completed in half-time at less than cost to the city and county. The city and county set up a Post-War Planning Committee representing city, county, utilities, and business, hired a professional staff, and published in 1943 a coordinated metropolitan plan, which it has since been carrying out.⁵¹ The population figures show a need for such common sense planning, for during the 12 months from mid-1940 to mid-1941, 55,000 persons came to San Diego, the civilian defense workers increased to 90,000, and there were 35,000 connected with the military. Six major defense plants in the area swelled the economy.⁵² By war's end, 170,000 people were working in San Diego where only 107,000 had labored before. Though the war had cut off San Diego's \$20,000,000 annual tourist trade, there had been no financial loss, only a change of emphasis from tourists to aircraft production. Of the population, swelled from 290,000 to 400,000, about 75% of the newcomers decided to stay on.⁵³ San Diego had increased during the global conflict faster than any other American city except Tampa.

With the coming of VJ Day, pessimists warned, as they always had, that San Diego and Southern California in general would see a collapse of its wartime boom. These folks had been called the "croakers" 80 years before, and were just as wrong again. Certainly there was a decided postwar recession, but San Diego on its part survived and prospered. Ducommun, which had become an open corporation in 1946, thrived in the 1949 recession due to good customer relationships. The third generation of Ducommun took over and proved the firm was in good hands still. San Diego prospered, too, with natural advantages and foresight. Hardly had peace been achieved than a Christmas novelty manufacturer and a Pennsylvania specialty baker planned to move there. The Bobbi-Kar automobile manufacturer took over an old aircraft plant in Chula Vista to produce 500-pound cars selling at \$500. Solar Aircraft meanwhile broadened its scope from plane parts to manufact-

Ducommun and San Diego

uring precision casting, film processing machinery, and midget auto racer kits.⁵⁴ Jet-propelled aircraft by 1948 had given Consolidated—whose war peak of 50,000 workers had fallen to but 3,000—a new lift. Though building construction had declined from its 1945 zenith, 25,000 dwelling units were built between that year and 1951, while the Navy's current development plans in San Diego total nearly \$100,000,000 in new construction. Economy moves may curtail future plans, but probably not enough to upset the trend. The sea also supports 1,200 fishing boats, for this, the nation's second biggest fishing port, and coastal shipping's volume was recently up 300%.⁵⁵ An \$85,000,000 recreation industry has developed which almost nothing could destroy.

Then came June 25, 1950, and the Korean War. Again aircraft production boomed. Another upward trend was on for San Diego. In April, 1945, industrial employment in the metropolitan area was 51,300, but it dropped to a low of 13,000 by December, only to rise slowly to 20,000 at the conclusion of 1946. It has risen steadily since April, 1950, passing 51,000 in February, 1952, and reaching, at last count, in June, 1953, 53,350. San Diego County building permits, which totalled \$36,589,852 in 1949 rose to \$60,000,000 in 1950, \$63 million in 1951, and in 1952 reached \$87,776,474.⁵⁶ A special census, taken in 1952, reflects better than words the extent of this boom.⁵⁷

The outlying areas of San Diego County, have grown greatly, too. Chula Vista, with its Rohr plant, is growing rapidly. El Cajon, too, once purely agricultural, now has grown within two years at the phenomenal rate of 98.1%, and Ducommun's business contacts there have been multiplied since World War II. The town of 11,000 is barely forty years old. Escondido, still agricultural, with the stress on citrus fruit, is served by Ducommun through its farm implement dealers and pipe supplies for the water system.⁵⁸

Today, San Diego has confidence in her future, but that hardly need be said—she always has. To look about at her present growth, to see beyond a progress for those with brains, courage, and muscles enough to make ideas into realities, is all that a prophet needs. No other American city, so authorities have said, has been so directly dependent on geography for all important aspects of its development.

and yet this, too, is the greatest test of its purely human resources. San Diegans plan a San Diego Port Authority to attract more needed industry and new shipping. Businessmen want to dredge out the bay and use the spoil on the marshlands, thus creating new harbor land for industrial building on the new bayfront, and more mooring room for the Navy. The harbor of the future will develop to the full the trade of Imperial Valley and Arizona agricultural products, now channeled mostly through Los Angeles, sulfur and salt from northern Mexico, and be used in bringing in fertilizer for Imperial Valley; autos, oil, cement, chemicals, lumber, and steel for industry, in which Ducommun's interests lie. This will be a thirty-year project costing \$60,000,000, two-thirds of it for dredging and the rest for shore improvements.⁵⁹ It is a dream worthy of San Diego, like the Ducommun Story, which is now so intricately a part of it, is just another chapter of the Great American Adventure—the world's greatest success story.⁶⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado: or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* (New York, new edition, 1949), 37. In 1846, when California was newly won by the United States, General William H. Emory had described San Diego as consisting of "a few adobe houses, two or three of which only have plank floors. It is situated at the foot of a high hill, on a sand flat two miles wide, reaching from the head of San Diego Bay to False Bay." See this in Walter Gifford Smith, *The Story of San Diego* (San Diego, 1892), 93.
2. In a letter to John E. Baur, from Elsinore, California, September 1, 1953, Mr. Milton Michaelis, son of Charles L. Ducommun's first clerk, said that Ducommun sold to San Diego ranchers and all others in southern California.
3. Ed Fletcher, *Memoirs of Ed Fletcher* (San Diego, 1952), 33.
4. William E. Smythe, *History of San Diego, 1542-1908* (2 vols., San Diego, 1908), I, 101. Federal Writers' Project, *San Diego* (San Diego and New York, 1937) 43. There were so few people and so little business in pioneer San Diego that Solomon Lazard, one of Ducommun's customers and fellow merchants, who had settled in San Diego in 1852, moved to Los Angeles. At the time the freight rate for his wares to Los Angeles from San Diego was \$20. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, Ed. by Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark (New York, 1916), 71.
5. Max Miller, *Harbor of the Sun* (New York, 1940). 178. For Rose's career, see, *San Diego Weekly Union*, July 10, 1873.
6. Federal Writers' Project, *op. cit.* and *San Diego Union*, May 4, 1873. The Horton House was the first hotel in Southern California occupying a whole block. Good building stone was plentiful on Coronado Island for all this construction, though most of it was of brick.
7. *San Diego Yesterdays* (San Diego, 1921), 46.
8. Samuel T. Black, *San Diego County, California* (2 vols., Chicago, 1913), I, 95-96.
9. Federal Writers' Project, *op. cit.*, 45.
10. Black, *op. cit.*, I, 155. In 1888, San Diego prices had shot so high that an Italian fruit vender paid \$150 a month to rent sidewalk space on one busy corner. See also, *Important Information Relative to the City of San Diego, California*. Ed. by E. A. Vezie and others (San Diego, 1874), 12.

Ducommun and San Diego

11. M. S. Croswell, "At San Diego and the Gold-Mines," *Overland Monthly*, V. 1870, pp. 427-428.
12. *San Diego Weekly Union*, May 29, 1873. It is interesting to note how San Diego's business center gradually migrated. In 1852 it was around the old Spanish Plaza de Pantoja, at F and G and India and Columbus streets. Next it went to 6th and J streets, after 1867. In 1870, it drifted up 6th Street and reached 6th and Market, only to go on to 5th and Market, and finally in 1876 to 5th and 6th. In 1882, it had gone to 5th and F, and four years later to 6th and F. In the 1920's it had moved to 6th and Broadway. H. C. Hopkins, *History of San Diego: Its Pueblo, Lands and Water* (San Diego, 1929), 346.
13. Walter V. Woehlke, "San Diego, the City of Dreams Come True," *Sunset*, 1911, XXVI, pp. 217-240.
14. Douglas Gunn, *Picturesque San Diego: With Historical and Descriptive Notes* (Chicago, 1887), 87.
15. *Los Angeles Daily News*, June 1, 1870; *Important Information Relative to The City of San Diego, California* 12. The Julian gold rush lasted until about 1888, and by that time about \$15,000,000 worth of gold had been extracted.
16. Walter Gifford Smith, *op. cit.*, 144, see also *Southern California Informant*, San Diego, February 1, 1890.
17. Ed Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 27.
18. Douglas Gunn, *Climate, Resources, Topography, Products of San Diego* (San Diego, 1886), 42. By 1888, San Diego had twenty architects, seven brick companies, two building and loan firms, ten civil engineers, and fourteen contractors.
19. William E. Smythe, *op. cit.*, II, 432. See also Smith, *op. cit.*, 153.
20. A. Austin Adams, *The Man John D. Spreckels* (San Diego, 1924), 206.
21. Ernest S. Simpson, "John D., Miracle-Maker," *Sunset*, XXX, 1913, pp. 201-203. Scoffers had called his projects "Spreckels-by-the Sea."
22. C. Ducommun Ledger, 1890-1896, *passim*.
23. *Southern California Informant*, October 5, 1889.
24. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1889.
25. *San Diego Progress*, May 6, 1897. Coronado had but 895 people then, but \$882,730 in assessed wealth. National City had 1,100 population; Chula Vista 490; Otay only 660; all were prosperous.
26. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1897. The value of San Diego's building permits had also risen: 1890—\$277,816; 1891—\$264,275; 1892—\$108,475; 1893—\$149,670; 1894—\$260,389; 1895—\$506,745. During the 1896 depression, however, they fell to a mere \$115,230. At the time of his death, Ducommun's hardware business was hard hit by this brief panic.
27. William A. Edwards, M. D., *San Diego, California* (San Diego, 1892), 4-6.
28. W. B. Whitcomb, "San Diego—The City of Opportunity," *Bankers' Magazine*, LXXXVII, 1913, pp. 81-86. The Coronado "Tent City" was the largest and best on the Pacific. A \$1,500,000 road program had just been initiated.
29. "San Diego," *Out West*, IV, 1912, 140. Claus Spreckels was interested with Arthur W. Savage in this tire company. See also *The Arrowhead's* "San Diego Edition," March, 1911, p. 12. E. Bryant Phillips in "History of the Ducommun Hardware Company." MS in Ducommun Files, Chapter I, pp. 5-35 describes this extremely rapid Ducommun growth, 1907-1917.
30. Interview of John E. Baur with Mr. Al W. Lohn, vice president of finance, Los Angeles, September 17, 1953.
31. *Souvenir: San Diego Fire Department* (San Diego, 1906), 22-86 *passim*. These firms are advertised in the above brochure.
32. *San Diego City and County Directory, 1905* (San Diego, 1905), 374, 376, 202, 245, 266.
33. Ducommun Corporation Cash Journal, 1910, pp. 1-71.
34. Federal Writers Project, *op. cit.*
35. Clarence Alan McGrew, *City of San Diego and San Diego County* (2 vols., Chicago, 1922), I, 224; and C. W. Johnson, *Along the Pacific by Land and Sea* (Chicago, 1916), 206.
36. Edward C. Crossman, "The San Diego Aviator Factory," *Scientific American* CXVIII, May 11, 1918, p. 431.
37. D. R. Lane, "San Diego's Leadership in Aviation," *San Diego Magazine*, August, 1927, 5-11.
38. *San Diego Facts* (San Diego, 1927), 5.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

39. "Summary of Industrial and Commercial Survey of City of San Diego and San Diego County to the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, March 31, 1945: Day and Zimmermann Report," typescript, in Los Angeles Public Library, IV, p. 13.
40. Interview with John E. Baur by Mr. C. A. Warnacutt, Los Angeles, August 27, 1953.
41. Interview with John E. Baur by Mr. Russell Rising, Los Angeles, September 17, 1953.
42. Carl H. Heilbron, ed-in-chief, *History of San Diego County* (San Diego, 1936), 203.
43. Day and Zimmermann Report, "op. cit." I, 144. Michael J. Walsh in 1927 began San Diego's seaweed processing industry.
44. Russel Rising Interview. In 1950, Mr. Rising became vice president of sales. His experience in San Diego covered the last of the prewar and first wartime years. See, *Solar Blast*, "Twenty-fifth Anniversary Issue," 1953, p. 8.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
46. Mr. E. T. Price, San Diego, California, to Mr. Alan N. Ducommun, December 30, 1952, letter in the possession of Mr. Ducommun.
47. *Solar Blast*, loc. cit., p. 58. See also, Day and Zimmermann Report, IV, p. 1. A chart shown here shows that San Diego in 1899 had only 57 manufacturing establishments; in 1909 it had 117; in 1919 it had increased to 266, and in 1929 the figure had slightly declined to 253. By 1939 it had declined still farther, to only 214, but was about to grow.
48. *San Diego, California* (San Diego, 1920), 12. See also Whitcomb, op. cit., 86-88. Nicholas Mirkovich, "Urban Growth in the San Diego Region," *Economic Geography*, XVII, 1941, pp. 308-309 says that from 1935-1937 San Diego's wage earners rose from 4,233 to 7,422.
49. Frank J. Taylor, "Blitzboom," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 19, 1941, pp. 14 and 40.
50. Frederick Simpich, "San Diego Can't Believe It," *National Geographic Magazine*, LXXXI, 1942, pp. 45-54.
51. "San Diego Faces Post-War Transition with Confidence," *American City*, 1945, LX, p. 95.
52. "Boomtown Inquiry," *Business Week*, June 21, 1941, p. 30.
53. "Boomtime Antidote?" *ibid*, February 23, 1946, p. 44; C. A. Warnacutt interview.
54. "Boomtime Antidote?" *Business Week*, February 23, 1946, p. 46.
55. Helen Augur, "San Diego's Harbor of the Sun," *Travel*, XCI, August, 1948, pp. 18-20, and Neil Morgan, *My San Diego* (San Diego, 1951), 40-41.
56. See, *San Diego, 1953: Annual Business Survey* (San Diego, San Diego Chamber of Commerce, 1953). San Diego's industrial products are now valued in excess of \$460,000,000 in 1953; aircraft, of course, leads with \$217,000,000, and tuna comes next with \$64,500,00, while shipbuilding and repairs amount to \$15,200,000—and Ducommun serves them all. The Navy payrolls are \$210,652,084 annually. San Diego's metropolitan population exceeds the half million mark.
57. San Diego was only 132nd largest American city in 1910; 93rd in 1920; 53rd in 1930; 43rd in 1940; and 31st in 1950. Today, it is probably 23rd, having passed Indianapolis, Memphis, Denver, San Antonio, Columbus, Portland, and Louisville.
58. Russel Rising interview and A. W. Lohn interview. Mr. Lohn called upon the trade after 1918 in National City, Escondido, Chula Vista, Oceanside, and La Jolla. Spreckels was then a very large Ducommun patron.
59. "San Diego Wants Authority to Dredge for New Industry," *Business Week*, April 11, 1953, pp. 82-83.
60. San Diego's population has grown as follows:

1850 — 650	1910 — 39,578
1860 — 731	1920 — 74,683
1870 — 2,300	1924 — 110,000 (est.)
1880 — 2,637	1930 — 147,897
1884 — 5,000 (est.)	1937 — 183,800 (est.)
1886 — 40,000 (est.)	1940 — 203,341
1888 — 35,000 (est.)	1950 — 334,387
1890 — 16,156	1952—434,924 (spec. fed. census.)
1900 — 17,700	

From Boulder to the Gulf

By Margaret Romer, M. A.

(Conclusion)

CHAPTER XXVI

THE REGION MODERNIZES



ABOUT THE SAME TIME that settlers were pouring into the Imperial and Palo Verde Valleys, they were pouring into the Yuma Valley too; and Uncle Sam was constructing an irrigation system for them.

In August of 1905 work was begun on the Arizona-California Yuma Reclamation Project. Some twelve miles up the Colorado from Yuma, the Laguna Dam was built. It is of the diversion type, rising only ten feet above the surface of the water; but it is nearly a mile across. The main canal leads the water off just above the dam, on the California side of the river. Here it serves the settlers on the west side and the Indians of the Yuma Reservation. Then the water is siphoned through a huge tunnel under the river to the Arizona side, where it serves the farms in the Yuma Valley and on the Yuma Mesa. One hundred fifty thousand acres in all. The dam was finished in 1909; the siphon in 1912.

The settlers of the Imperial and Palo Verde Valleys were always envious of their neighbors who were served by the Yuma Project, because Uncle Sam was not hampered for lack of capital in the work of controlling the river. Consequently the Yuma region was relatively free from the ever present flood menace.

The Yuma country changed in a few years from a barren desert

to a thriving agricultural community. And the "quaint and queer" *adobe* Yuma of the seventies became a clean, beautiful and well ordered town. The Territorial prison was transferred from Yuma to Florence in 1907. And five years later Arizona was admitted to the sisterhood of states.

About this time also, another important river voyage was made which gave the world the first motion pictures of the entire extent of the Colorado's canyons. The Kolb brothers, Ellsworth and Emery, kept a photograph studio on the rim of the Grand Canyon. For years they had looked down into that awesome depth and dreamed of traversing the canyons in a boat.

Systematically and patiently they made their preparations. And when every detail of their equipment was complete, they set out from Green River, Wyoming, on September 8, 1911, in two boats, the *Defiance* and the *Edith*. They carried ordinary cameras and a motion picture camera. The usual wettings, thrills, and spills that characterized the previous voyages through the canyons, fell to their lot too. But they were careful and skillful, and so emerged into the Mojave Valley early the following spring with the first motion picture record of a voyage down the great canyons of the Colorado.

The boats were taken from the river at Needles. But Ellsworth Kolb was not satisfied. He wanted to complete the voyage. So some two years later, he returned to Needles, purchased a boat from a Mojave Indian, and resumed his journey down the river. Eight days later, he reached the head of the Gulf.

Meanwhile, the people of the Imperial Valley were rebuilding their towns and farms after the inundations of 1905 to 1907. Due to pioneer optimism, these floods did not affect business conditions nearly as much as would be supposed. Everyone seemed to have confidence that the difficulty would eventually be overcome. The "Spirit of the Valley" prevailed. Life went on in the usual way.

In 1907 a new town was laid out in a barley field to be the western terminus of a branch railroad connecting Holtville with the Southern Pacific Railroad. This was El Centro, "The Center" of the valley. The new town grew like a mushroom for speed, but like an oak for permanence. In three years it had a population of

From Boulder to the Gulf

more than 1,600. Ten years later, it had well over 5,000 people.

Similarly, Brawley and Holtville were developing into modern towns. Brawley had started soon after Calexico and Imperial. Holtville had begun in 1903 also, under the name of Holton, which was changed to its present form a year later. It was named after Mr. W. F. Holt, the master builder and organizer of the valley.

Owing to the difficulty of getting to their county seat, and to the growing consciousness of the unity of the valley, agitation was rapidly gaining headway to make the Imperial district a separate county.

The Pomona district was at the same time trying to break away from Los Angeles County. The State laws granted no authority to counties to subdivide; therefore it was necessary to create a state law giving such authority. Pomona and Imperial joined hands in the fight. They sent representatives to the State Legislature to plead their cause. On March 15, 1907, an act was passed especially for Pomona and Imperial, authorizing the division of counties. Pomona never secured its separation from Los Angeles County, due to the fact that those in favor of separation lost in the local election.

The people of the valley, however, speedily carried through the necessary procedure and became a separate county. A petition was first sent to the San Diego County Board of Supervisors, asking for the creation of a new county for the Imperial District. The petition was granted. On the 6th of August, 1907, an election was held to determine whether or not the majority of the voters were in favor of separation. The election carried. El Centro because of its location was voted the county seat.

The organization and the first meeting of the Board of Supervisors of the new county took place in the Valley State Bank Building in El Centro on the 26th of August that same year. Mr. F. S. Webster was made Supervisor of the Imperial District of San Diego County. Mr. James B. Hoffman was officially made Justice of the Peace. He had carried on the duties of this office from the very first, by common consent, though without official appointment or election. Mr. D. S. Elder was elected the first County Clerk.

About this time, the people of Calexico felt the need of a town government. They had outgrown the method, or lack of method,

formerly employed — namely, running things by common consent. Accordingly, the people elected a Board of Trustees.

This newly elected board held its first regular meeting in the office of the *Calexico Chronicle* on the evening of April 28, 1908. They set to work drawing up ordinances, the very first of which was to prohibit the sale of liquor in Calexico. A total of seven ordinances was framed that night. The seventh prohibited gambling. All were passed. The *Chronicle* office continued to be the regular place of meeting for some time thereafter.

That summer, sidewalks were completed in the business section. In October, the "Eastside Addition" was annexed to the town. On January 22, 1909, a special election was held at which bonds were carried to the extent of \$3,500 for municipal buildings and other improvements. The following month, the city made arrangements with the Holton Power Company for street lights. About this time also, the crossing into Mexico was moved from Heber Avenue to Heffernan, where it remains today.

Mexicali, just across the international boundary from Calexico, soon grew to be the largest town in the valley. It was, and still is, the mecca for that large, rich section that lies to the south, on the Colorado's fruitful and fascinating delta in the Territory of Baja California, Mexico. Its population is chiefly Mexican and Chinese. Mexicali is the capital of the northern district of the Territory.

Algodones, a miniature counterpart of Mexicali, grew up on the Mexican side of the boundary, on the bank of the Colorado where the river first touches Mexican soil. This is very near the spot where the tragic *Mission of San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer* stood, whose *padres* were massacred in 1781.

One of the valley's major industries, the production of early cantaloupes, began in the Brawley district in 1905. It was in 1909 that cotton was first grown in marketable quantities around Calexico. Four hundred bales were sold that year. With this success, several cotton gins were built and the production steadily increased.

Calexico was never long without excitement. Huey Stanley was a radical I. W. W. leader. He was a man of courage, strength, and considerable military ability. Berthold and Ryan Price were Stanley's co-workers. They led a band of I. W. W.'s across the

From Boulder to the Gulf

border into Mexico and attempted to set up a socialist community, directly across New River from Calxico.

Governor Kelso Vega of Lower California would not permit the settlement. Stanley and his men would not leave; so the regular Mexican army attempted to drive them out. The result was a battle between the two forces in February, 1911. All Calxico watched the struggle, which began shortly before noon and lasted until dark. The churches cared for the wounded and buried the dead. Doctor Dana Weed was chief hero of the rescuers, at that time he was not yet a physician, but his big heart was always interested in suffering humanity. School children brought cloth from their homes for bandages to help him in the work.

The result of the day's fighting was that the Mexican army retreated to the kindly shelter of Mount Signal, some fourteen miles away. Stanley and his men were victorious for a time.

However, on the eighth of April in the same year, the Mexican army returned 900 strong with General Mayol at its head. This time the fighting took place a mile or so farther to the south. Stanley and his men fought bravely and killed thirteen and wounded twenty-eight of Mayol's men. Mayol's soldiers shot and killed Stanley himself. Without its leader, Stanley's army fell into disorder and soon dispersed, and so ended the socialist settlement across New River.

Four years later, Calxico suffered a real tragedy. About eight o'clock in the evening of June 22, 1915, the vicinity was visited by an unusually severe earthquake shock. Forty minutes later, another shock came equally as bad as the first one had been. Several fires resulted. A camp of American soldiers was stationed there at the time, and the soldiers helped the fire department in extinguishing the conflagrations. Most of the fires were in residences though perhaps the largest one was the Thing Building. The building was saved however, without irreparable damage having been done.

Everything of brick was leveled to the ground. Not a brick building was spared, not even a brick chimney remained standing. The beautiful new Rockwood School building, the pride of the town, was nothing but a pile of bricks. The new high school building was about half completed. It was so badly shaken that it had

to be reconstructed.

There were no deaths from the quake in Calexico, but Mexicali was not so fortunate. It suffered many. The total damage in Calexico amounted to about \$300,000. And El Centro too, suffered considerable damage from this seism.

But again the valley rebuilt and went persistently on its way. Twelve years later, just as the bells were ringing and whistles blowing to usher in the year 1927, the ground began to rock dizzily. Several hundred thousand dollars worth of buildings again were transformed to brick piles!

In spite of the danger, and with buildings falling all around her, a plucky telephone operator stayed with her switch board calling for aid for the helpless. This was Mrs. Lucille C. Harter, and she was later awarded a medal by the telephone company for her bravery.

Calexico now has three railroads. The Southern Pacific has already been mentioned. The Inter-California, it will be remembered, was begun in 1905, destroyed by the flood the following year, and was rebuilt and completed in 1908. It is a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific Company, but is operated entirely separately on a concession of the Mexican government. It begins at Calexico, crosses the border there and runs through Mexican territory to Yuma. The railroad was the idea of E. H. Harriman, the purpose was to provide a direct outlet for produce from the Southern end of the Valley. More than this it serves the purpose of a "double track" between Niland and Yuma. Trains going one direction can be routed one way, and trains going the opposite direction can be routed the other way. This results in a material saving of time, for both passenger and freight service.

The San Diego and Arizona Railroad started construction east from San Diego in 1916. It was not completed, however, until 1920. The cost was \$18,000,000. The road cuts directly through the mountains, and has seventeen tunnels and countless bridges in its course. From El Centro to Calexico, it operates over the Southern Pacific tracks and from there to Yuma over the Inter-California tracks.

Previous to the construction of the All-American Canal, all

From Boulder to the Gulf

the water used in the valley came through one heading. This is situated about one and a quarter miles north of the international boundary and is officially called Rockwood Gate, but commonly known as Hanlon Heading, after the man on whose property it was built. The water then flows through Mexican territory by way of the Alamo Canal. A few miles east of Calexico it again enters our country and branches into several main canals. These branch again and again, so that every foot of the Irrigation District's soil is watered by gravity.

The east side main canal and the west side main canal are also known as the "high line" canals. They follow the highest line along which the water will flow naturally. Outside of these two canals, the land cannot be irrigated by gravity. It is, therefore, still the natural desert.

Previous to 1928, the United States Government had never granted the valley permission to use the waters of the Colorado since its refusal to do so in 1904. Water was used, however, by virtue of an old filing made by Mr. C. N. Perry in 1895 under the laws of California.

The California Development Company went into the hands of a receiver in 1909 and was operated by him until 1916. In April of that year it was sold at a sheriffs sale. By arrangement, the property was bought by the Southern Pacific Company and then sold again to the Imperial Irrigation District. Thus the old California Development Company went out of existence. From that time on, the people of the valley owned their own water system. The old Imperial Land Company went out of existence soon after the first rush of settlers was over.

On the fourth of March, 1922, flags throughout the valley were lowered to half mast as an expression of grief at the passing of Mr. C. R. Rockwood. He had moved to Los Angeles some time previously but had not severed his business connections with the valley. His last visit in Calexico occurred only a month before his death. About a year before his passing, he had a severe attack of pneumonia, from which he never fully recovered. However, the immediate cause of his death was heart failure. The whole valley mourned his loss.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CONQUERED MONARCH



STRANGE PARADOXES are characteristic of the lower Colorado River region. That great desert territory, the Imperial Valley, was in far greater danger of being drowned than of suffering for want of water. The engineers had been aware of this fact since the great floods of 1905-1907.

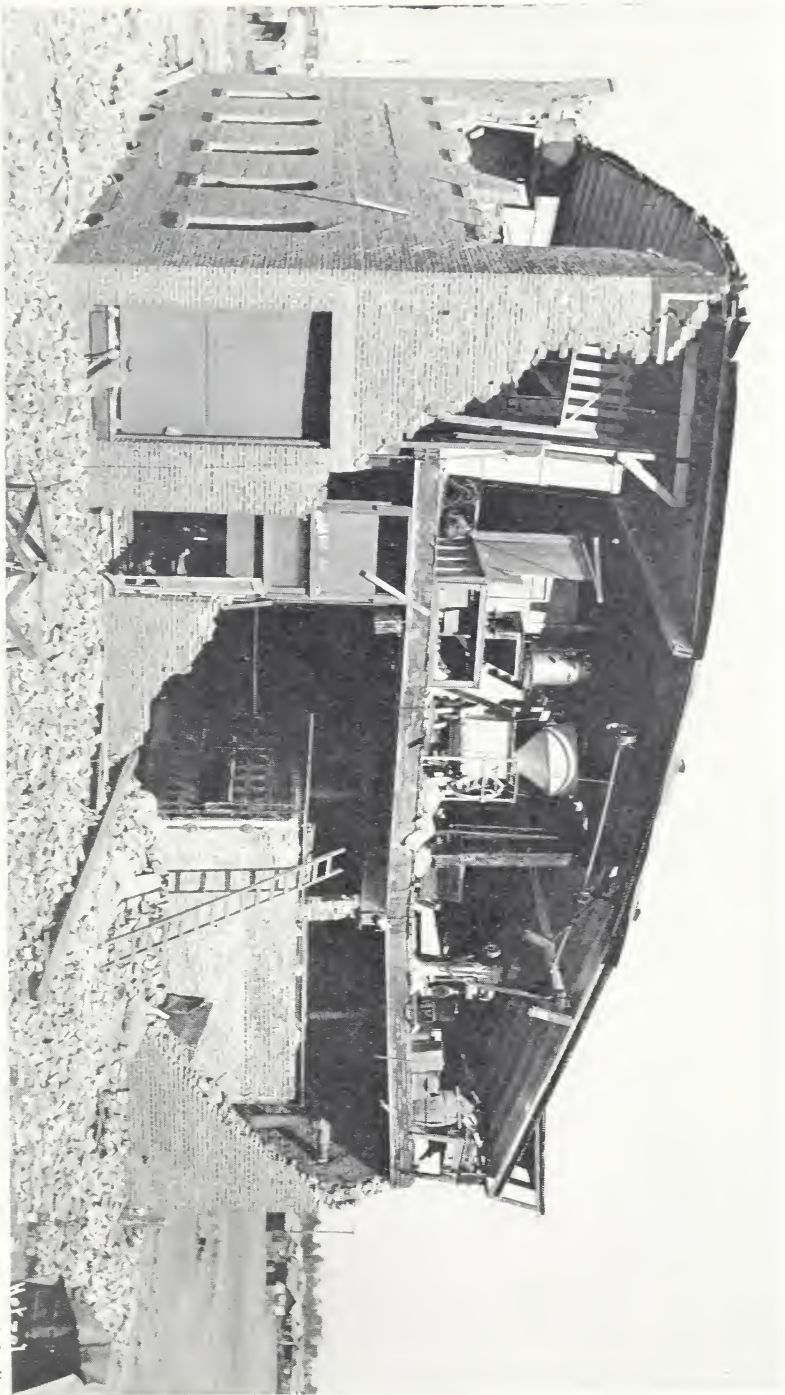
Throughout the centuries the Colorado River had overflowed at intervals into the Salton Sink. This had occurred in 1840, 1852, 1859, 1862, 1867, 1884. But no one lived there then, so the floods were not even noticed. But after the settlers came to the valley, this hitherto harmless overflow suddenly became a terrifying menace.

In 1909 the water rose again and started on its race toward the valley. But the Irrigation Company's engineers anticipated the flood and baffled it by constructing the Ockerson Levee in Baja California.

Two years later the flood again rose and raged at the obstruction in its path, beating angrily against the new levee until it broke its way through. But by this time the engineers knew the river with which they were dealing. They had not one levee, but a series of levees. So the valley was spared for that time at least.

The leaders knew, however, that these levees were like patches on a threadbare garment. The whole contrivance threatened to go out at any time. They began to talk about constructing a great dam farther up the Colorado, somewhere in the great canyons, to hold back the flood waters, and thus protect the valley from this constant danger. So the idea for Hoover Dam was born.

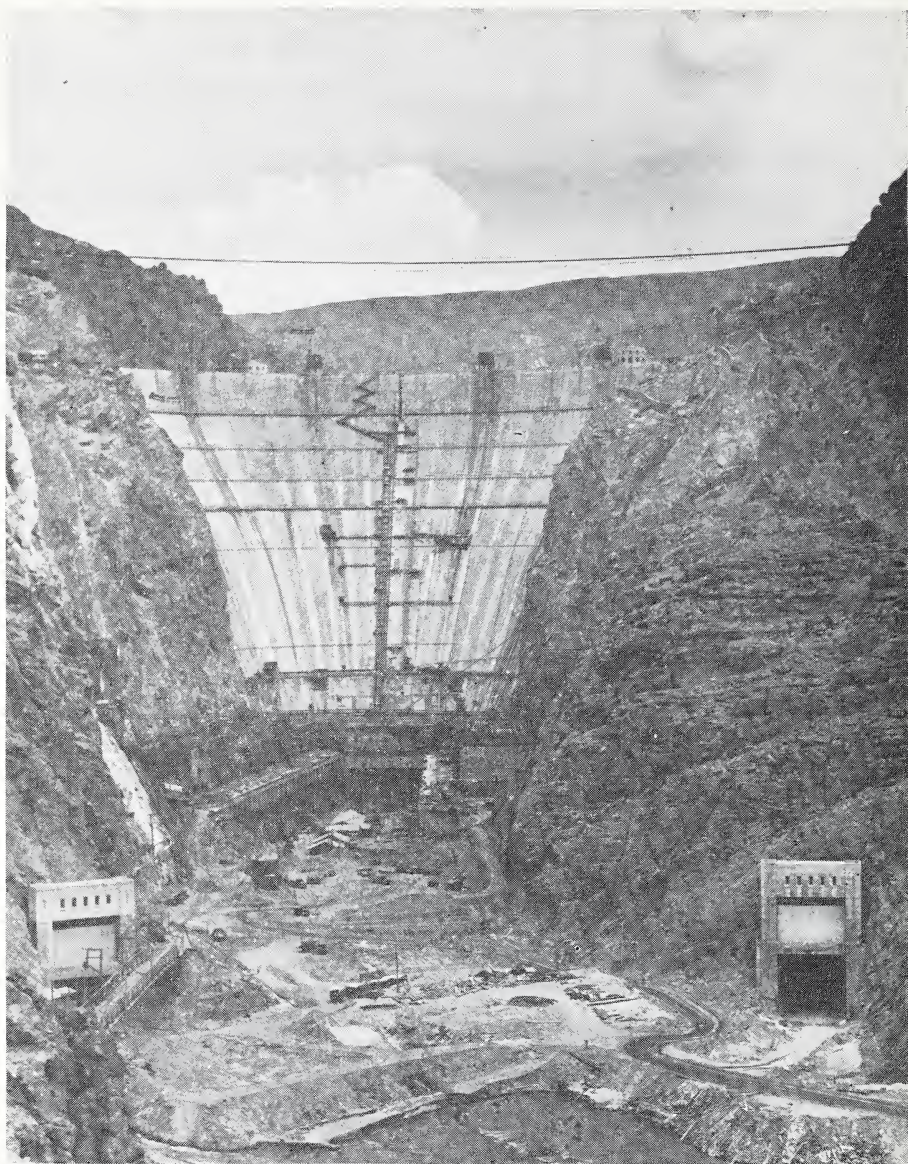
In the meantime the people of the valley voted two bond issues of \$2,500,000 each for river control work in Baja California. The execution of the work was maddeningly slow, due to the "red tape" necessary in dealing with a foreign nation. The Government at Mexico City was not vitally interested in the control of an unruly river on the outer edge of its most remote territory. Being disinterested, it was naturally slow to act. Meanwhile the valley prayed



EARTHQUAKE RUINS

Remains of brick building following Galestro earthquake of 1915

— Photo by Herzog Studios



— Metropolitan Water District Photo

HOOVER DAM UNDER CONSTRUCTION

From Boulder to the Gulf

that there might be no floods, while it kept anxious eyes on the water level at Yuma. This situation sired the idea of the All American Canal. But the district was already bonded for \$5,000,000 and could not even consider the expense of a new water system.

In November of 1917, the people of the valley asked the Secretary of the Interior to make a survey to determine whether or not the Imperial District could connect with the Laguna Dam by a canal wholly within the United States. The survey was made but the verdict was, that the plan would yield an insufficient supply during the periods when the water in the river was low.³¹¹ So the idea of a dam and storage basin farther up stream began to take definite form.

On June 17, 1919, William Kettner, Representative from the San Diego Congressional District, introduced the first All-American Canal bill in Congress. It received scant attention. The following January, Congressman Kettner introduced a second bill which added a provision for a storage basin farther up the river, to guarantee a controlled water supply to the valley. This second Kettner bill won the interest of Chairman Kinkaid, of the Arid Lands Committee. Kinkaid then introduced a bill of his own, known popularly as the Kinkaid Bill. This bill provided a thorough survey of the whole situation, the expense to be borne by the districts concerned. As if the condition had not been thoroughly surveyed by every engineer on the job since the great floods of 1905-1907!

But the new survey was made at a cost of \$100,000 to the valley and two years time. The report of the investigation was known as the Davis-Fall Report, and was presented to Congress the last day of February 1922. It had the effect of arousing Congress to the need for action.

As a result, the Secretary of the Interior made six important recommendations:

1. That the United States Government construct a highline canal from the Laguna Dam to the Imperial Valley; to be reimbursed by the lands benefited.
2. All public lands so reclaimed, to be reserved for ex-servicemen under conditions securing actual settlement and cultivation.
3. That the Government construct a reservoir at or near Boulder

Canyon, to be reimbursed by the revenues from the leasing of power privileges incident thereto.

4. The states to have the privilege of sharing the expense and the benefits.

5. The Secretary of the Interior to be empowered to allot various applicants their due proportion of power privileges, and to allot the cost and benefits of the highline canal.

6. All future development on the Colorado to be required to give priority of right and use first, to river regulation and flood control; second, to use of storage water for irrigation; and third, for development of power.³¹²

With this encouragement, Phil D. Swing, Representative from the southernmost Congressional District of California, introduced a bill popularly known as the Swing Bill. Its provisions were essentially the same as the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior.

Then the fight began!

Representatives from the seven states of the Colorado River basin held some twenty meetings that year. The task of dividing the Colorado's water and power equitably among the seven states was similar to the task of a mother dividing ten pieces of candy among seven selfish children, only magnified a million times!

While this war was going on (and "war" is used advisedly), a terrific flood tore its way down the Colorado in the year 1922. The amount of the damage done was enormous! Two-thirds of the Palo Verde Valley was under water, and the Imperial Valley was saved only by the forethought of its engineers. They had provided levees behind levees — miles of them. On top of each was a railroad track always in repair, and flat cars loaded with rock ready on a moment's notice to be pushed out on the dikes to fill any break that might occur. As if to justify all this precaution, the first line of levees were washed out completely, railroad tracks and all! But the reserves saved the valley. Even the more fortunate Yuma suffered from the high water that year. Motion pictures of the flood shown in Washington influenced many Congressmen to vote, later, for the Boulder Canyon Project.³¹³

At last the great flood subsided. But the war over the division

From Boulder to the Gulf

of the Colorado's water continued. Eventually even this great struggle came to an end, though the bitterness engendered by the fight survives today in many an honest and courageous heart. By the end of November, 1922, a settlement was unwillingly agreed upon. This arrangement made by the seven states is known as The Colorado River Compact. The states involved California, Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming.

The Compact was to become effective when ratified by the seven state legislatures. All but Arizona soon approved the plan. That state felt, and not without justification, that the Colorado belonged by nature more to *her* than to the other states; since it flowed for some 300 miles wholly within that state. Furthermore, the whole state drains into it, while the river flows only along the boundary of California and Nevada, and receives, only a minimum of their drainage. Yet California had taken the lion's share of the water and power. The larger state based her claim on previous use and on greater population. Insinuations were heard that Arizona was like the dog in the manger, which added nothing to the harmony of the situation.

Arizona was adamant. So, for six years more, the Imperial Valley continued to pray, and watch the water level at Yuma.

But Congressman Phil Swing and Senator Hiram Johnson of California were doing their utmost in Washington. Swing's first bill failed to reach the floor of the House. Then Swing and Johnson introduced another bill similar to Swing's first bill. This was considered in committee for about two years. Undaunted, they introduced another, which received still further "consideration."

Former Secretary of the Interior, Hubert Work, recommended an addition to the bill providing that the Government build a power plant at the dam and sell electric power to the cities of the southwest instead of selling the power privilege to private corporations.

Meanwhile, the Los Angeles metropolitan area was casting about for a new domestic water supply for its fast growing population. It turned envious eyes on the Colorado and recognized therein its last source of sufficient volume to satisfy its voracious needs. Los Angeles *must* have Colorado River water or stop growing. The alternative was inconceivable to that progressive city. So the Los

Angeles metropolitan area added the weight of its influence to the side of the Imperial Valley and the lower Colorado River region generally. Also the American Legion lent its influence to the cause of the Boulder Canyon Project.

Opposed to the project were the great and powerful private power companies and the great American land owners of northern Baja California. Chief among these was the *Los Angeles Times* with its 800,000 acre ranch below the border. Time passed; the fight in Congress dragged on.

Swing and Johnson were persistent and active, so, finally their last bill, introduced December 5, 1927, and known as the Boulder Canyon Project Act, passed both houses of Congress and was signed by President Coolidge on December 21, 1928. The vote in the Senate was 64 to 11; in the House it was 166 to 122.

Since Arizona had not yet signed the Colorado River Compact, the Boulder Canyon Project Act provided that the agreement would become effective with the ratification of the other six states, but gave Arizona six months more time to join. The six months passed and Arizona still refused to sign, so the Boulder Canyon Project Act and the Colorado River Compact were declared in force on June 21, 1929.

Meanwhile, old trails became fine, wide transcontinental highways. Towns were growing into small cities, villages became towns, and new villages came into being. Las Vegas grew up almost overnight. Needles and Kingman were both children of the railroad and highway. A little town that called itself Parker grew around the headquarters of the Colorado River Indian Reservation on the Arizona side of the river. Blythe became the leading town of the Palo Verde Valley, while the Imperial Valley developed four cities and many towns. Yuma held its place as the mecca of the lower Colorado River.

The region around the head of the gulf is still as it was when viewed by Alarcon, Oñate, Kino and Garcés; except that two roads scramble down to tide water. One of these goes down the east side of the river from the village of San Luis in Sonora to Porto Isabel, a tiny Mexican settlement. The other connects Mexicali with Mayor on the west side of the river at its mouth. This road is

From Boulder to the Gulf

perhaps used slightly more than the one from San Luis, but neither has any significant amount of travel. The ports are merely villages with landing places.

In the northern part of our region the scene is quite different. That section sprang suddenly into unprecedented activity. In upper Black Canyon the great Hoover Dam began slowly to rise to baffle the great Colorado River in its mad rush to the sea.³¹⁴

Hoover is by far the highest dam in the world, towering 727 feet above the bed of the river. The second highest is Owyhee in Oregon, which is 405 feet. If the Los Angeles City Hall could be placed at the foot of Hoover Dam, the tip of its tower would reach only about five-eighths of the distance to the top of the dam. This great barrier is 660 feet thick at its base, and tapers to 45 feet in thickness at the top.

The amount of concrete in the dam, including the power house at its base and the appurtenant works, would make a solid mass of concrete a city block square and a quarter of a mile high. Or, it would have been enough to build a standard sixteen-foot highway from Miami, Florida to Seattle, Washington.³¹⁵

The lake formed by this great dam is larger than Tahoe. It has a shoreline almost equal to the distance from San Francisco to San Diego. It is by far the largest artificial lake in the world, being more than seven times as large as its closest rival, which is Gatun Lake in the Canal Zone, Panama.³¹⁶ This giant reservoir supplies water for all the irrigable land "from Boulder to the Gulf."

The power plant below the dam has fifteen 115,000 horsepower turbines, and two 55,000 horsepower turbines; and it is capable of developing 1,835,000 horsepower. This is more than twice as much as the great Russian Dnieprostroy plant, the United States plant at Niagara, and Muscle Shoals all put together.³¹⁷

This huge enterprise was carried out by the United States Government through its Bureau of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior. The Government will, however, be reimbursed through the sale of power. In a comparatively few years, the project will have paid for itself, and will thereafter be a perpetual source of

water and power to the people for only the cost of maintaining the system.^{31d}

To house the army of workers necessary to build this colossal dam in the barren desert, Uncle Sam built Boulder City, six miles west of the damsite in Nevada. No pioneer history for this town. It was laid out and built in thoroughly modern style with every modern convenience. Most of the government buildings were in the Spanish style of architecture and air conditioned, which made for greater comfort on the desert. While the dam was under construction, Boulder City had a population of about 5,000 people, making it the third largest city in Nevada.

In the summer of 1935 the great dam was completed, and on September 30, 1935, it was dedicated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Farther down the stream, just below the junction of Bill Williams Fork, rises the Parker Dam, the purpose of which is to divert the domestic water for the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Thirteen cities are included in this district. They are Anaheim, Beverly Hills, Burbank, Compton, Fullerton, Glendale, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Pasadena, San Marino, Santa Ana, Santa Monica, and Torrance. This project is known as the Colorado River Aqueduct and is an even greater engineering job than the Hoover Dam.

Surveys were begun as early as 1923, and one hundred routes were projected before the Parker route was adopted. Actual construction work was started in December of 1932, and six years were allowed for the building of this huge canal. The Colorado River Aqueduct Project is also a self-liquidating as well as self-maintaining project through the sale of water to the separate cities.

The main canal is 242.3 miles long and will deliver a billion gallons of water each day. The total length of the canals, including those that distribute the water to the thirteen cities, is 392 miles.

For most of its distance, the main canal traverses barren desert that has been crossed only by an occasional prospector — off the beaten trail of the emigrants, and even of the still earlier *padres*. So, before construction work could begin, it was necessary to dig wells and build 180 miles of water mains to deliver water to the

From Boulder to the Gulf

camp site of the workers. Then 150 miles of surfaced truck highways were constructed, as well as other roads to reach every point of operation. Four hundred forty-eight miles of high voltage electric power lines were built to supply light and power for the work; and 1060 miles of telephone lines were strung.³¹⁹

Then the camps were constructed at intervals along the course of the canal. One is on the Colorado River at the Parker Dam site. These camps were model towns with every convenience, much like Boulder City.

The main canal has twenty-nine tunnels, having a total length of 92 miles. There are 146 siphons, totaling twenty-nine miles. In some sections concrete conduits, sixteen feet in diameter are used. In other parts of the route, the water flows twelve feet deep and twenty feet wide through concrete lined canals. Enough concrete was used in the aqueduct to build a standard 14 foot highway from Los Angeles to New York.³²⁰

Thirty-six percent of the power generated at the Hoover Dam is used to lift and pump the water from the Colorado River, through the aqueduct to the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

Still farther down the Colorado, rises the Imperial Dam. This is the intake for the long dreamed of All-American Canal. This dam is of the weir type and raises the water surface of the river some twenty-two feet. Large desilting basins are provided at the dam, so only clear water is turned into the huge canal. The dam, desilting plant, and the canal are part of the Boulder Canyon Project and, as such, were financed in the same way.

This part of the project provides water for the irrigation of 1,000,000 acres which include the Imperial Valley, the Coachella Valley, the East and West Mesas, the Pilot Knob Mesa and the Dos Palmas district. All this land was once raw desert, and much of it is still undeveloped.

The canal to carry this huge volume of water is 200 feet wide at the top, 134 feet wide at the bottom, and twenty-two feet deep. Only two canals in the United States are larger, and they are ship canals.³²¹

The main canal to the Imperial Valley is eighty miles long, while the one branching off to the Coachella Valley is 130 miles

long. The main canal is carried under the Alamo and New Rivers in huge siphons. There are five drops where enough electric power can be developed to serve the entire valley, and it is publically owned.

Now we have followed the lower reaches of the great Colorado River for nearly 400 years. We found a proud and happy people living there, in harmony with the great river. Then came the white man. He did not live in harmony with the river. Instead, the great stream was to him a menacing barrier. Always he fought it, cursed it, and struggled with it. For nearly 400 years the river was master, but the white man struggled on. And suddenly he frustrated his old enemy, bound him and made the once proud monarch of the land serve him. The white man has become the ruler; the river has become the slave.

We rejoice in the victory. We are proud of the intelligence and the skill that made the achievement possible. But when we view the wide, now almost empty river channel, where for ages past the giant river had roared in his freedom, we cannot help heaving a sigh of pity for the conquered monarch.

But, civilization must inevitably go forward.

THE END

NOTES

310. Tout, *The First Thirty Years*. 365.
311. *Ibid.*, 138.
312. *Ibid.*
313. *Palo Verde Times*, June 7, 1934.
314. Colorado River Project includes: Hoover Dam and reservoir, \$70,600,000; power development, \$38,200,000; All-American canal, \$38,500,000; interest during coning construction, \$17,700,000; a total of \$165,000,000. Note that this does not include the Colorado River Aqueduct. From Desmond, Glenn, *Water and Power*, Official Bulletin, Los Angeles, May, 1934. Vol II, No. 5.
315. Mead, Elwood, *Boulder Canyon Project Questions and Answers*.
316. Scattergood, *The Boulder Canyon Project*. 15.
317. *Ibid.*
318. Allocations of Primary power from the Hoover Dam: City of Los Angeles, 14.9054 percent; Metropolitan Water District, 36 percent; Arizona and Nevada each 18 percent; private power companies, nine percent; Pasadena, 1.6183 percent; Glendale, 1.8867 percent; Burbank, .5896 percent. From Desmond, Glenn, *Water and Power*, Official Bulletin, Los Angeles, May, 1934. Vol. II No. 5.
319. Metropolitan Water District, *Water for Thirteen Cities*.
320. *Ibid.*
321. Mead, Elwood, *Boulder Canyon Project Questions and Answers*. Ms.

Book Reviews

By the Staff

THE OPENING OF THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL. By George R. Stewart. University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1953. Pp. 115. Ills. \$3.75.

Here the author, Professor Stewart, gives credit to the band of pioneers who first opened the trail to California, known now as the Truckee route and the Donner Pass. He has gathered his facts from the reminiscences of Moses Schallenberger who crossed the plains at seventeen with the Stevens Party. In 1885 H. H. Bancroft collected these, which were later edited and expanded by Horace S. Foote in 1888. Professor Stewart in his book presents the Schallenberger account along with generous notes stressing important historical facts that appear in the original source. The author's introduction is in itself important because it is here that are found the significant references to the memoirs that make clear the history of the Stevens Party. The Introduction covers the text, the authors, the personnel of the Party, the route, the chronology, itinerary and concludes with the leadership of this particular group. There are illustrations, mostly photographs of the site passed by the determined pioneers in seeking their goal.

This book is one well worth having for Professor Stewart has presented a subject dear to him for over twenty years. He lets Schallenberger tell his story and then doubles that interest by Stewart's own knowledge and love of California history.

CALIFORNIA IN THE MAKING. Essays and Papers in California History, by Rockwell D. Hunt, Ph.D. Director, California History Foundation, College of the Pacific.

California in the Making constitutes a valuable and welcome addition to Dr. Hunt's long list of important publications in the field of California history.

This publication is written over a period of more than half a century. Dating from *Legal Status of California (1846-1849)*

(1898) to *California Mountain Men of Another Breed* (1952) it deals with the political, economic, educational, religious and cultural life of the state and constitutes a cross section of California history from the evolution of transportation, vigilantes in action, of California pioneers, great women of California, and a year of destiny. These are just a few of the papers and essays found in this book.

"California looks ahead. Accordingly, the present volume has been titled *California in The Making*.

CALIFORNIA'S UTOPIAN COLONIES. By Robert V. Hine. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1953. Pp. 209; charts, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$4.00.

The author, a native son of California, concluded his research under a fellowship of the Huntington Library bringing together the material of his work into this volume. California over a period of a hundred years drew men and women here to found colonies, both religious and secular each with an ideal system and preserving faith in mankind whether their Utopian settlements met with failure or success. They hoped in a sense to forget the society they had known and to start anew seeking an ideal commonwealth, as it were, along with eternal happiness on earth. They had "withdrawn themselves from the community at large to embody that vision in experimental form." They were for the most part co-operative bodies, sharing alike for economic reasons.

Those colonies covered in the book are primarily Fountain Grove, Point Loma and Temple Home, the Icaria Speranza Commune, the Kaweah, Altruria, Llano del Rio and those "after a fashion." There are numerous footnotes and the bibliography is complete with notes on the subject handled in each chapter. —

A.L.C.F.

Activities of the Society

MEETING OF OCTOBER 27, 1953

Members and friends attended an instructive and informative lecture entitled "Medical Adventures In Early California."

President John C. Austin presided. He welcomed new members present and accepted many gifts to the Society.

The speaker, Mrs. Stafford Warren was introduced as a Lecturer in Medical History at the University of California Los Angeles. She then very ably presented the

MEDICAL ADVENTURES IN EARLY CALIFORNIA

These were illustrated by colorful slides, photographs of personalities in the limited group of that day, as well as excerpts from renowned medical publications and documents which substantiated her story.

Refreshments were announced and friendly groups reminisced over the coffee cups. Pouring at the urns were Mesdames Ernest Yorba and Edmond F. Ducommun.

* * * * *

Thanksgiving and Christmas Holidays prevented further meetings for the year.

Gifts to the Society

In each issue of THE QUARTERLY there appears a list of the donors and gifts made currently to the Society.

The Society is making a special effort to build up its collection of historic materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, early newspapers, theatre and other programs, pictures of early-day life in California and costumes. We need your help.

Every member of the Society has some historic article that would be welcomed, and THE QUARTERLY sincerely hopes that the names of all our members will be recorded from time to time in the gift column.

MARCO R. NEWMARK,
Chairman, Committee on Gifts and Bequests

* * *

MR. JOHN C. AUSTIN: A panorama published by the Los Angeles *Daily Times*, 1909, showing business center of Los Angeles and its skyscrapers of that day. Many of the beautiful homes of that era are shown, also well-known members of the Bench and Bar and outstanding architects of that day. A page from TIME MAGAZINE 1930 showing President Calvin Coolidge visiting the West and meeting with John Steven McGroarty of the Mission Play. Also shown on this page is a photo of the President with Mayor Porter, Mrs. Hollingsworth, Mr. McGroarty and Mrs. John C. Austin. An Annual Report of Los Angeles County, June 30, 1932. A photograph of Lt. Thomas F. Castor with biographical sketch telling of his affiliation with the 1st Dragoons, December 6, 1846, and his death September 8, 1886 at Fort Tejon at the age of 33.

MR. FRED H. DRAKE: An autographed publication, *The History of San Carlos California*, covering the time from Portola to the coming of the first Americans. It is fully illustrated. This was the site of the old Rancho Pulgas, Spanish grant of Governor Luis Antonio Arguello which is now San Mateo County.

MISS C. MARJORIE FREEMAN: A pictorial scrap book depicting the many social activities of Mrs. Morris Albee, a renowned patroness of the arts. This book records the social life of this lovely lady and many of her friends, and contains many well-known names in the society of that day who participated with Mrs. Albee in attending the opera, the theatre, and clubs. They were devotees of the cultural life of our Southern California.

Gifts to the Society

MR. LEONARD HARRIS: The donor, nephew of the Chief of Police, Emil Harris (1893), presented the Society two inscribed silver shields worn at different times by this beloved citizen of early Los Angeles. Emil Harris assisted in founding the city's fire department in 1869, was captain of the police force and later its chief.

SENORA EVANGELINA VASQUEZ de HIGUERA: Granddaughter of the illustrious Don Augustin Olvera presented the Society with a child's photograph of herself at the age of eight years wearing the traditional dress of the period about 1870. Tabloid of Los Angeles, August 10, 1877, published in Spanish. This "Cientific Periodical" contains literature and notices together with bits of gossip. An ad appearing in this Tabloid which was edited by Cuyas, manager of the Pico House reads thus: "Cape House, on New High, a family hotel facing the Pico House, compares with the most luxurious home living in the city and in the Dining Room dinners are served at 25c."

MRS. J. GREGG LAYNE: A large framed photograph of our late revered member of the board, past president, and editor of the *Quarterly* — J. Gregg Layne.

An Annual Report of the Water Department of City of Long Beach. Also as a gift *Indiana Magazine of History*.

MRS. J. HARVEY McCARTHY: One package of twenty photographs of personalities who made history in California. One San Diego Newspaper *Vidette* volume 3, 1895, carrying the youthful photograph of the late Mr. J. Harvey McCarthy. Photograph of the first page of the Book of Baptisms of Mission San Diego de Alcala in the handwriting of Padre Junipero Serra (1769-1819). Photo of replica of mission bell hanging in the Amanda Chapel Carthay Circle; another photo of the statue at the Circle. Panning Gold; also one of the old California Theatre in San Francisco (1868-1888.) A brochure *A Memorial to Snowshoe Thompson, Hero of the Sierras*.

MR. MARCO R. NEWMARK: A monograph of Dr. Pomroy Widney, founder of the Los Angeles Medical Association. This is a comprehensive dissertation on the early medical profession in Southern California. One 1953 file of the *Pony Express*. A brochure depicting Los Angeles in the future along with other illustrations.

MR. SID PLATFORD: Brochure published by the First State Bank of Rosemead. This is the story of L. J. Rose and the founding of Rosemead in the San Gabriel Valley.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MR. CHARLES PUCK: One box of photographs recording the historic old ranchos and many of the adobes that extended the traditional California hospitality.

MR. ROBERT H. RAPHAEL, JR.: A 1914 City Directory that includes data on both San Pedro and Wilmington. A colored map of property holdings improvement utilization survey of the Metropolitan area of Los Angeles, 1926. This survey shows Los Angeles City Hall under construction.

MR. AND MRS. F. C. RIPLEY: Picture of Lincoln, taken in Springfield, Illinois, in 1860 by Alexander Hesler, a Chicago photographer. Given in memory of Edson W. Lyman, a cousin, who was a Civil War Veteran having enlisted in Company I, 75th Illinois Infantry. He lost his arm early in the War at the battle of Perryville against General Bragg. The picture is a copy of one made from the original wet plate and presented to Mr. Lyman in the early nineties by his daughter Mrs. Lee Scott.

WELLS FARGO BANK & UNION TRUST CO: Three brochures — *A Century at the Golden Gate (1852-1952)*, I. W. Hellman; *A Brief History of the Wells Fargo Co., 1852-1923, Now the Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.*; and *A Trip Through the Wells Fargo Bank Historical Collection of the Old West, Half and Hour in El Dorado*.

Index

VOLUME XXXV

Compiled by Carroll Spear Morrison

A

Abbott, Edward J., 134.
Aguirre, Rosa, 301.
Ainsworth, Capt. C., 146.
Aldrick, Lorenzo D., 105.
Alexander, David W. 265; 306.
Alexander, Ramon, 132.
Alger, Russell A., 208.
Ali, Hadji (Hi Jolly) 59.
Allen, Dr. Raymond B., 94.
Allen, Ward, 190.
Allison, Chester, 292.
Alvarado, Don Juan Batista, 13-14.
Alvarado, Francisco Javier and Tomasa, 236.
Ames, Rev. John G., 242.
Andre, Clinton, 134.
Anza, Juan Bautista de, 221.
Aplin, Capt. A. M. and son Donald, 255.
Arce, Matilde Carrillo de, 232.
Arguello, Don Santiago, 232.
Arguello, Luis, 124.
Arizona Miner's Steam Navigation Co., 78.
Arlt, Dr. Gustave, 188.
Arrowhead Springs Hotel, 135.
Aubrey, Felix, 57, 58.
Austin, John C., 93, 185, 298, 393, 394.
Avery, Judge Russ, 94.

B

Babcock, Elisha, 145, 357.
Bailey, Richard, 188.
Baker, Col. Robert C., 136.
Balboa, California, 134.
Banbury, Col. J., 319.
Bancrofts Lost Letter by Edward A. Dickson, 213-220.
Bandini, Arcadia, 4.
Bandini, Don Juan, 4, 235.
Banning, Phineas, Intrepid Pioneer, by Marco R. Newmark, 265-274.
Banning, Hancock and William, 130, 271, 272.
Barclay, Lily A., 320.
Barnett, Joel, 105.
Batsford, Frank, 148.
Beach Land Co., 137.
Beach, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, 174.
Beale, Lt. Edward F., 20, 42, 56, 58, 59.
Beale, Israel, 244.

Beattie, George W. 246.
Beattie, Helen Pruitt, 239.
Beatty, John C., 166, 167.
Becker, Harry, (Lagonita Lodge) 132.
Behymer, L. E., 27.
Bell, James G., 105.
Benton, Jessie (Mrs. John C. Frémont) 325.
Berghoff, Alfred C., 94.
Bergland, Lt. Eric, 84.
Bernardo, José Antonio, 233.
Bidwell, John, 105.
Big Bear Lake, California, 132.
Bigelow, John, 328.
Big Horn Mine, 123.
Bixby, Jotham, 138.
Black Robes in Lower California by Peter Masten Dunne, *rev.*, 89.
Bliss, Cory, 298.
Block, Maurice, 186.
Blythe, Thomas and Florence, 288.
Bolton, Herbert S., 89, 91.
Bonebrake, George, 138.
Borland, Mrs. Robert R., 93.
Bosworth, Hobart, 27.
Bouchard, Hipolite, 233.
Boulder to the Gulf by Margaret Romer, Part V, 55-88; Part VI, 153-180; Part VII, 275-294; Part VIII (Conclusion), 375-390.
Bowron, Hon. Fletcher, 90, 95, 297.
Bradshaw Road (The Sunkist Trail) 69.
Breen, Patrick, 105.
Brewer, W. H., 308.
Brier, John W., 105.
Brighton Beach, 151.
Briggs, Arthur, 27.
Bringhurst, William, 55.
Brink, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin C., 245, 254.
Brittan, George E., 126.
Brown, Brainerd, 255.
Brown, Floyd and Jessie, 290.
Brown, Frank E., 254.
Brown, F. M., 162.
Brown, John, 253.
Bryant, Edwin, 105.
Bryant, Joseph, 267.
Bucareli, Viceroy, 221.
Buchanan, Ella, 214.
Burnett, Peter, 113.
Burrill, George T., 116.
Butler, Lowell, 93.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

C

Cabazon, Chief, 253.
 Cabrillo, Juan Rodriquez, 129.
 Cahuillas Indians, 249.
 California Chivalry Party, 44.
California Historical Sketches by Philip S. Rush, *rev.*, 295.
California Resorts, Early by Marco R. Newmark, 129-152.
 California Stage Co., 64.
California Trail, Opening of by George R. Stewart, *rev.*, 391.
California's Utopian Colonies, by Robert V. Hine, *rev.*, 392.
 Calloway, William, 287.
 Cambo, Father Pedro, 225.
 Camels in California, 58-59.
 Campbell, James, 105.
 Canbuston, Don Enrique, 16.
 Carleton, Col. James H., 80.
 Carr, Catharine, 95.
 Carr, J. E., 174.
 Carrillo, Domingo Antonio Ignacio, 232.
 Carrillo, Sgt. Guillermo, 228.
 Carrillo, José Antonio Ezequiel, 114, 233.
 Carrillo, Capt. Raymundo, 232.
 Carson, Kit, 126.
 Castro, General José, 12.
 Castro, Don Manual, 14.
 Cattle Drives of the 1800's, 103-104.
Cattle Trail to California 1840-1860, by Gilbert Cureton, 99-109.
 Catalina Island, 129.
 Catalina Pigeon Messengers, 131.
 Census, Cattle in California, 1860, 100.
 Chaffey, George and W. B., 170.
 Chapman, Joseph, 234.
 Chemehuevais Indians, 24.
 Chlapowski, Count Karol Bozenta, 30.
 Clayton, John M., 102.
 Cleland, Robert Glass, 3, 106.
 Cocks, Bert, 301.
 Cocopah Indians, 85.
 Coffman, Mrs. Nellie and sons, George R. and Earl, 143.
 Coleman, William T., 216.
 Colorado, The, 56.
 Colorado Steam Navigation Co., 78.
 Colton, Judge, 17.
Confederates in Southern California by Helen B. Walters, 41-54.
 Conway, J. R., 116, 117.
 Cook, Dexter, 127.
 Cook, Nathan P., 76.
 Cook, Uncle Tommy, 255.
 Coronado, California, 145.
 Coronel, Antonio F., 116, 117.
 Corthell, E. L., 203.
 Cory, H. T., 279.
 Coutts, Letter of Cave (1852-1863) 3-10.
 Covarrubias, José Maria, 129.
 Crabb, Henry A., 61-63.

Crafts, George H., and Myron, 241.
 Craighill Board, 201.
 Cram, Lewis F., 255.
 Criswell, Mrs. J. L., 27.
 Culleton, James, 181.
 Cureton, Gilbert, 99.
 Cureton, Capt. Jack and W. E., 104.
 Cuyas, Antonio, 339.

D

Dana, James D., 125.
 Daniel, Jesus, 291.
 Dawson, Michael, 105.
 Dearborn, C. S., 148.
 Decker, Ellen (Mrs. L. E. Norton) 289.
 Delacour, Mr., 298.
 Delano, Alonzo, 105.
 Dellenbaugh, Frederick, 82.
 Del Mar, California, 143.
 Derby, George, 349.
 De Silva, Woodruff, 185.
 Diblee, Thomas, 106.
 Dickson, Edward A., 95, 213, 219.
 Dickson, Mrs. Edward A., 92.
 Dillon, Richard H., 11.
Dominquez, The Rancho, by W. W. Robinson, 343-346.
 Dominguez, Cristobal, José Ygancio, Maria Dolores, 344-345.
 Dominguez, Juan José, 343.
 Dominguez, Manuel, 114.
 Donner, Jacob, 103.
 Dougherty, Frank C., 94.
Draught, Lawlessness and Smallpox by Robert Glass Cleland, 3-10.
 Drumheller, Dan, 105.
 Dryer, George William, 19.
Ducommun and San Diego by John E. Baur, 347-374.
 Ducommun, Charles A., 355.
 Ducommun, Charles L., 347-374.
 Ducommun, Charles L. and sons, Alfred H., Emile C. and Edmund F., 360.
 Ducommun, Edmund F., 188, 191, 393.
 Ducommun, Mrs. Edmund F. 93, 185.
 Ducommun, Edward F., 95.
 Duffus, R. L., 307.
 Dunbar, Edward E., 65.
 Dunn, John C., 84.
 Dunn, Peter Masten, 89.

E

Eachus, Paul, 366.
 Edinger, E. S., 277.
 Ehrenberg, Herman, 71.
El Alisal: The House that Lummis
 Built by Dudley Gordon, 19-28.
 Elder, D. S., 377.
 Ellenbecker, John, 105.
 Endlich, Dr. E. M., 123.
 Escobar, Augustine, 13.
 Eshleman, John M., 216.

Index

Esmeralda, The, 80.
Estudillo, Joe, 177.
Explorer, The, 56, 57, 64.
Eyre, Alice, 330.

F

Ferguson, James, 134.
Ferguson, Samuel W., 167.
Figueroa, José, 236.
Fitch, Tim, 136.
Flavell, George F., 164.
Flint, Dr. Thomas, 103, 105.
Flowing Valley by Orville J. Harrell,
 rev., 182.
Font, Father, 221.
Fontano, Bernard L., 124.
Forbes, Mrs. A. S. C., 220.
Forster, John, 236, 335.
Fortune Favors the Brave by Dr. Ben-
 jamin S. Harrison, *rev.*, 183.
Foster, S. C., 114.
Foy, Mary, 299.
Frémont, John Charles, 11, 103, 105.
 125, 215.
Frémont, Elizabeth Benton, 327.
Frémont on Rocky Mountains by Phillip
 Rochlin, 325-334.
Frye, Senator, 206.
Fulton, Dr. J., 143.
Fulton Wells, 143.

G

Gabilan Peak Campaign of 1846, The
 by Richard H. Dillon, 11-18.
Gadsden Purchase, 77.
Galbraith, D., 321.
Gale, Anita, 111.
Gale, William Allen, 111, 235.
Gano, P., 319.
Garcia, Donna Mercedes, 337.
Garden of Paradise, 133.
Garfias, Manuel, 116, 117.
Gass, O. D., 56.
Gibson, J. W., 105.
Gilman Hot Springs, 141.
Gilman, Mr. and Mrs. William G., 141.
Gilroy, John, 12.
Gist, Brook D., 182.
Glenmore, The Old, 130.
Gold in the Colorado and Gila River
 Districts, 68-74.
Gold Mining Days in San Gabriel
 Canyon, Early by Frank Rolfe, 119-
 123.
Gonzalez, Dr. Teodoro, 17.
Goodwin, John N., 77.
Gordon, Dudley, 19.
Grady, Henry F., 117.
Grant—Dent Ditch, 85.
Greek George, 20, 59.
Green, G. M., 149.
Green Hotel, 149.
Green, O. G., 127.

Griffith, J. M., Co., 110.
Guillen, Eulalia Perez de, 231.
Gunn, Douglas, 352.
Gunn, Senator, 77.
Guthrie, James A., 242.
Gutierrez, Feliciana Arballo de, 222.
Gutierrez, Manuel, 345.
Gutierrez, Maria Eustaquia, 222.

H

Haas, Charles E., 301.
Hall, Andrew, 82.
Hammager, Capt., 120.
Hancock, Samuel, 105.
Hancock, Capt., W. S., 47.
Hanlon, Hall, 168.
Hanna, Phil Townsend, 92.
Hardwick, Thomas V., 322.
Harned, J. M., 135.
Harrell, Orville J., 182, 299.
Harries, Leonard, 394.
Harriman, E. H., 277.
Harrison, Dr. Benjamin S., 183.
Harte, Bret, 215.
Harwell, J. L., 277.
Hathaway, Mrs. Louise, 130.
Hawes, F. C., 138.
Hayes, Benjamin, 116, 117.
Heald, George, 148.
Heber, A. H., 275.
Hefferman, Dr. W. T., 167.
Henderson, John, 298.
Henrickson, Clois F., 131.
Herber, Anthony H., 168.
Hickey, Thomas J., 94.
Higuera, Evangeline Vasquez de, 394.
Hilton, Conrad, 135.
Hine, Robert V., 392.
Historic Document, An by Grace A.
 Somerby, 113-118.
Hodge, Dr. and Mrs. Frederick, 298.
Hodge, Frederick W., 27.
Hoffman, James B., 175, 377.
Holder, Charles Frederick, 130.
Hole, Willits J., 94.
Hollister, Mary (Mrs. Phineas Banning)
 269.
Holt, L. M. (Limpy) 176.
Holt, Mr. & Mrs. W. F., 286.
Hood, William, 203.
Hooper, Capt., William B., 80.
Hoover Dam, 387.
Hopis, The by Walter Collins O'Kane,
 rev., 296.
Horton, Alonzo, E., 351.
Hough, Rev. A. M., 138.
Houghton, Eliza P. Donner, 105.
Houser, Judge Frederick F., 92.
Hoyt, Franklyn, 195, 319.
Hualapais Indians, 85, 86.
Hughes, Capt. W. B., 80.
Hulbert, Arthur B., 105.
Hunt, George, 171.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Hunt, Nancy, 105.
Hunter, Capt., 80.
Huntington, C. P., 203.
Hutton, N. H., 64.

I

Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey
by James Culleton, *rev.*, 181.
Indians of San Bernardino Valley and
Vicinity by Helen Pruitt Beattie, 239-
264.
Indians of Southern California, The B.
D. Wilson Report *rev.*, 183.
Ingersoll, Chester, 105.
Ingram, Schuyler, 255.
Irish, George, 288.
Ives, Lt. Joseph C., 56, 57.

J

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 247.
Jessup, The General, 56, 63.
Johnson, Albert Sidney Jr., 267.
Johnson, Capt. George A., 56.
Johnson, Hiram W., 216.
Johnston, Albert Sidney, 47, 52.
Jones, Condy, 112.
Jones, John P., 136, 196.
Jones, Mayor E. W., 112.
Judson, E. G., 254.

K

Kaiser, Charles K., 133.
Kearny, Stephen Watts, 350.
Kelsey Mine, 122.
Kenny, Abbot, 247.
King, T. Butler, 109.
King, Thomas Starr, 215.
Klinker, Orpha, 27.
Knight, Gus, 132.
Kolb, Ellsworth and Emery, 376.
Krythe, Maymie R., 29.
Kysor, E. F., 339.

L

La Framboise, Michel, 125.
La Jolla, California, 48.
Langbery, William B., 322.
Larkin, Thomas, 12.
Larson, E. Eric, M. D., 191.
Lassen, Peter, 125.
Latta, Frank, 188.
Lawler, Oscar, 299, 335.
Lawler, Mrs. Oscar, 186.
Lawson, Annie, 252.
Lawson, Rev. Samuel D., 242.
Layne, Mrs. J. Gregg, 395.
Leach, James B., 64.
Leepec, David R., 105.
Lehmann, George, 132.
Lick, James, 130.
Lindbergh, Charles, 366.
Long Beach, California, 138.
Lopez, Juan Francisco, 224, 230.

Los Angeles, Early Day: A Great Wag-
on Train Center, by Frank Rolfe,
305-318.

Louis, Emanuel J., 134.
Lowe, Prof. Thadeus, S. C., 149.
Lummis, Charles F., 19-28.

Mc

McCallum, John G., 142.
McCarthy, Mrs. J. Harvey, 299, 301.
McCarthy, J. Harvey, 395.
McCormick, Judge Paul, 94.
McCullough, John, 32.
McNeil, Chris, 135.
McManus, Peter, 301.

M

Manly, W. L., 105.
Manuel, Chief, 255.
Maricopa Indians, 62.
Marshall, James, 215.
Marshutz, Herbert S., 191.
Mason, Charles, 65.
Maxwell, William A., 105.
Mercado, Sgt. Mariano Joséfa Sol de,
232.
Mexican Joe (José Presciado) 131.
Meyberg, Manfred, 95.
Miles, Dr. Henry, 267.
Miller, Frank A., 140.
Miller, Joaquin, 215.
Mission Inn, 140.
Mitchell, Beatrice Sabichi, 186.
Modjeska, Madame, in California by
Maymie R. Krythe, 29-40.
Mojave Indians, 62, 240.
Moncada, Capt. Don Fernando Rivera
y, 222.
Monte Boys, 43, 45.
Montgomery, W. F., 110.
Moraga, Gabriel, 124.
Moraga, Joseph Joaquin, 221, 225, 250.
More, Prof. and Mrs. Ira, 111.
Morrison, Carroll S., 95.
Morrison, Judge Murrey, 269.
Mott, Thomas D., 138.
Mott, Stephen, 110.
Moulder, Andrew, 44.
Mt. Lowe, California, 149.
Murguia, Father Joseph, 224.
Music in the Southwest by Howard
Swan, *rev.*, 90.

N

Narvaéz, Don Pedro, 16.
Nautridge, Miss., 175.
Neasham, Dr. Aubrey, 186.
Neighbors, J. E., 289.
Newmark, Harris, 265.
Newmark, Joseph P., 265.
Newmark, Marco R., 27, 92, 96, 129,
191, 265, 301, 395.
Newport Beach, California, 134.

Index

Nicanor, Maria Concepcion, 232.
 Nieto, Manuel, 344.
 Noll, Mrs. F. N., 27.
 Norway, W. H., 122.

O

Ocean Park, California, 150.
 Oelze, Mrs. Carl, 366.
 O'Kane, Walter Collins, 296.
 Olvera, Augustine, 116.
 O'Melveney, Stuart, 96.
 Orr, J. W., 328.
 Orrosco, Senor Maria, 232.
 Ortega, Lt. José Francisco, 223.
 Ortega, José Joaquin G., 236.
 Overland California Mail Act, 42.
 Overshiner, Mr. 177.

P

Packard, Albert, 130.
 Packman, Mrs. Ana Begue de, 93, 96,
 298.
 Packman, Joseph Henry, 96.
 Palm Springs, California, 142.
 Palou, Father Francisco, 224.
 Pancoast, Charles E., 105.
Panorama, by W. W. Robinson, *rev.*, 290.
 Papagoe Indians, 62, 86.
 Parks, Marion, 27.
Pasadena Railway by Franklyn Hoyt,
 319-324.
 Paso Robles Inn, 144.
 Patton, Anita, 130.
 Peck, Mrs. J. E. (née McWilliams) 175.
 Pena, Father Tomas, 225.
 Perry, C. N., 167, 171.
 Perry-Mott Lumber Co., 110.
 Perry, W. H., 110.
 Pesqueira, 61.
 Peterson, Mary Helen, 298.
 Phelps, John W., 299.
Pico, The Family of by Helen Tyler,
 221-238.
 Pico, André, 44, 335.
Pico, The House by Oscar Lawler, 335-
 342.
 Pico, José Maria, 222, 230.
 Pico, Pio, 335.
 Pico, Santiago de la Cruz, 222, 226.
 Pico, Soledad Ybarra de, 237.
 Pima Indians, 62.
 Pioneer Oil Co., 269.
 Platford, Sid, 192, 395.
 Plum, Mrs. Leone G., 27.
 Playa del Rey, California, 137.
 Pomfort, Dr. John E., 92.
 Poston, Charles D., 84.
 Poulson, Norris, 297.
 Powell, Major John Wesley, 81.
Presidents of the Historical Society,
 Early by W. F. Montgomery, 110-112.
 Preston, E. B., 122.
 Preuss, Charles, 326.

Price, Joseph, 105.
 Price, Ned, 368.
 Puck, Charles, 192, 301, 395.

Q

Quirós, Capt. Don Fernando, 226.

R

*Railroads in the Development of Los
 Angeles Harbor, Influence of the,* by
 Franklyn Hoyt, 195-212.
 Ralphs, George A., 133.
 Rancho Guajome, 5.
 Randolph, Eper, 277.
 Raphael, Robert H., Jr., 302, 395.
 Raymond, Walter, 144.
 Read, George W., 105.
 Redondo Beach, California, 146.
 Reid, Hugo, 114.
 Reid, James W. and Merritt, 145.
 Rhodes, William Porter, 139.
 Rice, G. L., 293.
 Rice, Louis J., 367.
 Rico, Don Francisco, 15.
 Rigg, Major, 75.
 Ringgold, Lt., 125.
 Ripley, Mr. and Mrs. Frederic, 188, 302,
 395.
 Robbins, Thomas M., 129.
 Robinson, Alfred, 235.
 Robinson, W. W., 296, 298, 343.
 Rochlin, Phillip, 325.
 Rockwood, Charles Robinson, 166.
 Rodriguez, General Abelardo., 89.
 Rolfe, Frank, 119, 192, 305.
 Romer, Margaret, 55, 153, 275, 375.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 284.
 Rose, Louis, 350.
 Round House, The, 132.
 Royce, Sarah, 105.
 Rumph, John, 131.
 Rush, Philip S., 295.
 Ryan, Claude, 365.

S

San Antonio and San Diego Stage Co.,
 42.
 Sanborn, Charles A., 175.
 Sandels, Dr., 126.
 Sanford, Rebecca, 265.
 Sanford, William T. B., 267.
Santa Ana by Charles D. Swanner, *rev.*,
 295.
 Santa Monica, 135.
 Savage, Thomas, 13.
 Sawyer, Lorenzo, 105.
 Scharf, Mrs. Austin, 96.
 Schlesinger, Louis, 267.
 Schoneman, Florence D., 27.
 Schultz, Mrs. 27.
 Scott, Joseph, 27, 39., 189.
 Seely, Thomas W., 267.
 Seibert, Dr. R. J., 186.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Senan, Father José, 234.
 Sepulveda, Ana Maria, 344.
 Serra, Father Junipero, 224.
 Serrano Indians, 249.
 Shatto, George, 130.
 Shaw, R. C., 105.
 Shenk, John, 175.
 Sheriff, Mary, 250.
 Sierra Madre Villa, 138.
 Smith, Dr. David N., 135.
 Smith, James, 322.
 Smith, Jedediah Strong, 125.
 Smith, Wilbur, 298.
 Somerby, Grace A., 113.
 Spreckels, Claus, 357.
 Stadler, Walter, 127.
 Stanley Hugh, 378.
 Stanton, Robert Brewster, 162.
 Stearns, Abel, 3-10, 114, 269.
 Steele, John, 105.
 Sterling, Madame, 251.
 Stewart, Archibald, 164.
 Stewart, Gee, R., 391.
 Stimson, Charles M. and George W., 321.
 Stimson, Mrs. Marshall, 92, 93, 96, 192.
 St. John, Silas, 65, 66.
 Stoermer, Grace, 27.
 Strub, Mrs. Charles H., 94.
 Sumner, Gen. E. V., 41, 46.
 Sumner, Jack, 82.
 Sunkist Trail, The, 69.
Sutter Buttes: A Geographic Eminence in California History by Bernard L. Fontana, 124-128.
 Sutter, John A., 125.
 Swan, Howard, 90.
 Swanner, Charles D., 295.
 Sycamore Park—Grove, 131.
 Sykes, Godfrey, 163.

T

Taylor, J. F., 43.
 Tell, Will, 137.
 Terminal Island, 151.
 Thing, Frank, 165.
 Thompson, Albert, 248.
 Thompson, Robert R., 146.
 Thurman, Edward, 126.
 Title Insurance and Trust Co., 302.
 Tivoli, Gardens, 133.
 Torre, Don Esteban de la, 1-3, 14.
 Torrey, John, 329.
 Toussaint, Jules, 188.
 Triest, Robert, 302.
 Trimmier, T. J., 105.
 Trubody, William A., 105.
 Truman, Major Benjamin C., 268.
 Tuholsky, Jo., 31.
 Turner, Justin, 298, 302.
 Tyler, Helen, 221.

U

Upham, Charles Wentworth, 328.

V

Valle, Don Ignacia del, 115-117.
 Van Dyke, Walter, 105.
 Vastida, Maria Jacinta, 222.
 Vega, Kelso, 379.
 Venice, California, 150.
 Victoria Gold and Silver Mining and Milling Co., 122.
 Violet Quartz Mine, 122.

W

Wakeman, Mary, 27.
 Waldron, Dave V., 139.
 Wallace, Capt., "Big Foot," 65.
 Walters, Helen B., 41.
 Warner, Col. J. J., 110.
 Warner, Jonathan Trumbull, 236.
 Warren, Althea, 27, 298.
 Warren, Mrs. Stafford, 393.
 Washington Gardens, 139.
 Weaver, Lincoln, 255.
 Weaver, Pauline, 68-74.
 Webb, William, 93.
 Webster, F. S., 377.
 Weed, Dr. Dana, 379.
 Wells, C. M., 201.
 Wells, Fargo and Co., 120, 396.
 Wells, Kate More, 112.
 Weyel, Jacob, 339.
 Wheeler, Lt. George M., 83.
 Whipple, Lt. 58.
 White, Senator, 206.
 Whitney, Mrs. E. J., 130.
 Whitney, J. D., 121.
 Wicks, Moses L., 137.
 Widney, J. P., 201.
 Wilson, A. D., 329.
 Wilson, Benjamin D., 116, 117, 270.
 Wilson, Frederick W., 301.
 Wilson, Susan, 105.
 Willard, Charles D., 198.
 Willis, Judge H. M., 253.
 Willmore, William, 138.
 Wireless, First Station on Pacific Coast, 130.
 Wolfskill, Mr. and Mrs. John, 96, 185.
 Woods, Isaiah C., 64.
 Woodworth, Francis Channing, 328.
 Workman, Thomas H., 267.
 Wozencraft, Dr. Oliver Meredith, 165, 259.
 Wright, George F., 352.
 Wright, Harold Bell, 286.

Y

Years Between by Brook D. Gist, *rev.*, 182.
 Yorba, Mrs. Ernest, 93, 186, 393.
 Yuma Indians, 62.

Z

Zahn, Otto J. and Oswald T., 131.
 Zapata Mining Co., 121.

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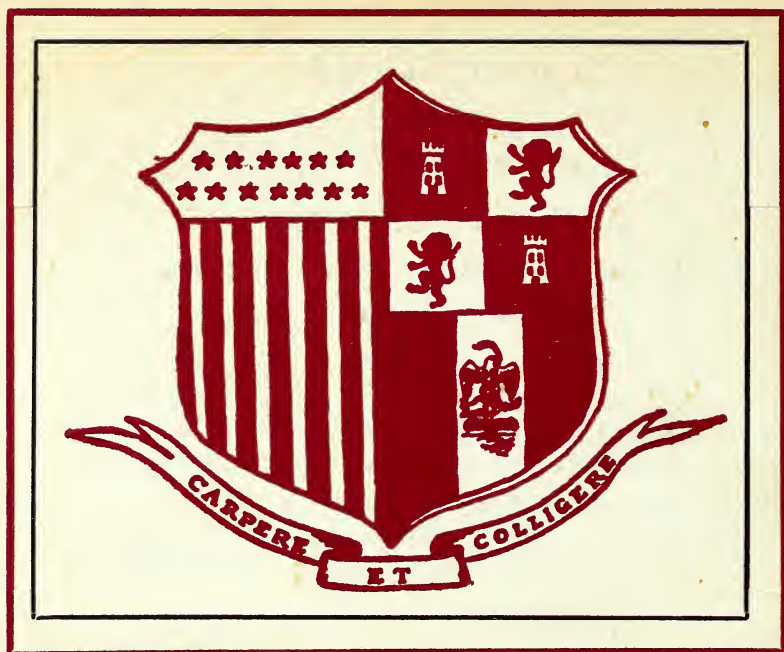
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